A Rhetorical Analysis of Wind Concerns Ontario's Use of Melodrama to Promote Online Opposition to Industrial Wind Turbine Developments

by

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Abstract

In 2009, the Ontario government implemented the Green Energy Act (GEA). Within this initiative, the GEA heavily subsidized renewable energy developments and instituted procedural mechanisms to expedite such developments across the province. In doing so, the GEA altered the landscapes of numerous rural Ontario communities. Since 2009, nearly 2 500 industrial wind turbines (IWTs) have been constructed – turbines approximately 80 meters high with blades exceeding 40 meters. In response to this alteration, roughly 50 grassroots groups have designated themselves as "Not A Willing Host" of IWTs.

This phenomenon represents a paradoxical "green on green" (Warren et al. 2005) controversy in which pro-environmental arguments figure centrally (though not exclusively) within grassroots opposition to a government-led 'green' initiative.

To understand the scope and style of these arguments as a form of environmental communication, my dissertation undertakes a textured rhetorical analysis of Wind Concerns Ontario's (WCO) online opposition – the most prominent grassroots IWT opposition group within the province.

Drawing on Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama, my rhetorical analysis illustrates that WCO's use of 'embedded third-party edited blog posts' constitutes an environmental melodrama – a melodrama that is enacted through WCO's appropriation of journalistic conventions. In communicating these posts, WCO often inserts its own headline, lead, visual and/or caption to frame the linked item as part of its oppositional discourse. I argue

that this complex and contemporary rhetorical strategy functions as a form of participatory journalism to promote political homophily and create an echo chamber in which the ideological underpinnings of IWT opposition coalesce and reverberate, while contrary ideologies are dismissed.

This research contributes to further mapping the parameters of the IWT controversy in Ontario. It also contributes to an understanding of the rhetorical repertoire of environmental melodrama by highlighting its discursive complexity and malleability – notably the incorporation of technocratic discourse conventions and divisive humour – two features not typically associated with this rhetorical form. Furthermore, by exploring the characteristics and implications of melodrama – a rhetorical form common in public disputes – this research will inform citizens and stakeholders who find themselves imbricated amidst a social controversy, environmental or otherwise, and navigating a potential rhetorical response.

Keywords: blogs, divisive humour, environmental grassroots organizations websites, environmental rhetoric, headlines, melodrama, Green Energy Act Ontario, industrial wind turbine opposition, participatory journalism, rhetorical analysis, Wind Concerns Ontario

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feedback on the alternative ways in which I could typify WCO's use of journalistic conventions. I will continue to reflect on all of this feedback as I envision future applications of my research.

During my research, while scrolling through the WCO blog, I read that the now defunct Sun News TV was airing a feature on the IWT controversy in Ontario. Later that night, while watching this episode, I was intrigued by the rhetoric being employed in this feature. This rhetoric closely mirrored what I had seen throughout the WCO blog but had found myself struggling to characterize it with any specificity. It wasn't long after this experience that I came across Dr. Steve Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama, and it became immediately apparent that this theory enabled me to accurately conceptualize such rhetoric. Thus, the foundation of this dissertation is undoubtedly Dr. Schwarze's work on melodrama and when I was informed that Dr. Schwarze had agreed to be part of my committee, I was honoured. I sincerely thank Dr. Schwarze for his level of engagement with my work as well as his offering both commendation and suggestions on the ways in which my research could evolve. In particular, your encouragement for me to consider the broader implications of rhetorical melodrama, both within and outside of my selected context, is a valuable prompt as I continue to explore the fascinating phenomenon of this rhetorical form.

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Preface

In 2009, the Ontario government implemented the Green Energy Act (GEA). The GEA was monumental. In fact, the Ontario Ministry of Energy announced it as "the largest climate change initiative in Canada" ("Green Energy Act"). Within this initiative, the GEA heavily subsidized renewable energy developments and instituted procedural mechanisms to expedite such developments across the province.

In doing so, the GEA altered the landscapes of numerous rural Ontario communities. For example, as of January 2016, 2 465 industrial wind turbines[1] have been constructed across Ontario (Canadian Wind Energy Association "Ontario"). These turbines are approximately 80 metres high with blades exceeding 40 meters (Gipe & Murphy 7-8). In response to this alteration, some residents formed grassroots opposition organizations. Currently, there are at least 49 industrial wind turbine (IWT) community opposition organizations within the province (Wind Concerns Ontario "Find Your Community Group").

One organization in particular, Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO), is arguably the most prominent grassroots IWT opposition organization within this controversy. In fact, WCO identifies itself as a "province wide advocacy organization whose mission is to protect the health, safety and quality of life of the people of Ontario from industrial wind turbines" ("About Us"). Although WCO offers a multifaceted opposition strategy, the main source of WCO's oppositional discourse is through its website (http://www.windconcernsontario.ca/).

[1] My decision to use the term "industrial wind turbines" throughout my research, as opposed to "wind farms," is based on two reasons. Firstly, "industrial wind turbines" is the prominent term used in existing scholarship which studies this phenomenon. Secondly, I believe this term most accurately represents these objects. It is undeniable that these turbines are "industrial" in that their purpose is to create electricity in a similar fashion to other industries such as nuclear or hydro-electric. In no way does my selection indicate a bias in support of either proponents or opponents.

One of the overt rhetorical features of the WCO website is the provision of blog posts. As of June 2016, the WCO website contained 319 web pages of blog posts dating back to December 2011 with a total of approximately 1800 posts. As I demonstrate in my methodology chapter, these blog posts can be further categorized based on their rhetorical strategy. Through such categorization, one particular strategy is noteworthy – the use of embedded third-party edited posts. This strategy is not only ubiquitous within this blog, it is one for which in-depth analysis can produce insight on both the phenomenon of IWT opposition as well as the unique rhetorical features utilized within this strategy. An example of this strategy is offered below:

Figure 1-Sample WCO Embedded Third-party Edited Blog Post

On August 10th, 2016, WCO made the above post on its blog ("Ontario's Electricity Policy Disaster"). In this post, WCO supplies a hyperlink to an article in the *Financial* Post entitled "Ontario electricity has never been cheaper, but bills have never been higher" (McKitrick) and WCO also posts the corresponding text as it appears on the original host site. However, WCO also embeds its own authored headline, lead, visual and corresponding caption – textual features which do not appear on the original site. This technique – what I identify as an embedded third-party edited post – is a common feature of the WCO blog and is a uniquely contemporary rhetorical tactic.

Through a rhetorical analysis of this tactic, on one level, I will contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon of grassroots opposition to IWTs in Ontario. As I will argue, IWT developments in Ontario are part of a political response to mitigating climate change, a response which is contested in many of the communities in which such developments have been installed or are proposed for installation. In light of this, and in light of the factors which have contributed to the rhetorical exigence[2] of this situation, opposition to IWTs can be seen as a contextually complex, unique, and paradoxical environmental controversy. Thus, amidst such contestation, an attempt to develop a textured understanding of this dispute is warranted – and such an understanding will further address and elaborate on the current gaps within the existing scholarship related to the phenomenon of IWT opposition.

On another level, I will contribute to an understanding of the rhetorical nuances of this tactic as a digitized oppositional response to IWTs in Ontario. Through such textured analysis, I

[2] Bitzer (1968) defines an "exigence" as "an imperfection marked by urgency," and "in any rhetorical situation there will be at least one controlling exigence which functions as the organizing principle: it specifies the audience to be addressed and the change to be effected" (6).

will argue that WCO's use of embedded third-party edited blog posts function to promote credibility and create a social network in which the harnessing of journalistic conventions is coupled with the rhetorical repertoire of melodramatic rhetoric. Such coupling creates a like-minded community in which the ideological underpinnings of IWT opposition coalesce. Furthermore, such coupling enables IWT opponents to integrate the features of environmental melodrama as theorized by Schwarze (2006) – namely, the positioning of conflict on a social-political plane; the polarization of positions; the inclusion of moral appeals; and appeals to solidarity. Additionally, it also enables these opponents to maximize the discursive malleability of environmental melodrama through the re-appropriation of technocratic discourses as well as the appropriation of divisive humour – two features typically not associated with environmental melodrama as a rhetorical form. In terms of the former, I highlight how WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts to promote a multi-faceted thematic oppositional discourse which functions as a counter-rhetoric to the institutional discourses which support IWTs. In terms of the latter, I argue that WCO's use of divisive humour, notably comedic ridicule, functions to foster identification through polarizing division and helps to maintain the emotional energy of the movement. To demonstrate some these dynamics in play, let us return to the example provided in "Figure 1-Sample WCO Embedded Third-party Edited Blog Post".

As mentioned, in providing this blog post, WCO embeds its own authored headline, lead, visual and corresponding caption. For example, although the hyperlinked item from the *Financial Post* offers a headline, WCO supplies its own headline "Ontario's electricity policy disaster: power cost down, consumer rates up says economist". Additionally, WCO supplies its own lead which reads "Massive revenue guarantees for a handful of lucky wind power

generators, but no appreciable environmental benefit from Ontario's energy policies says economics professor Ross McKitrick". Finally, WCO inserts a photograph which doesn't appear in the hyperlinked article as well as includes the following caption "More turbines means more losses and higher bills, with no environmental benefits" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Ontario's Electricity Policy Disaster"). The re-appropriation of these journalistic conventions in the provision of an embedded third party edited blog post fulfills an array of rhetorical objectives.

One objective of note is the portrayal of expertise, a frequent rhetorical feature in the IWT controversy. Through rhetorical re-appropriation, WCO portrays itself as a credible source of IWT journalism by mirroring journalistic conventions and demonstrating a high degree of fluency with the hyperlinked article. Additionally, WCO explicitly indicates the destination of the hyperlinked item in the blog post in an attempt to elevate its own organizational ethos.[3] In the example above, we see how WCO rhetorically benefits by associating itself with the *Financial Post*, even though the hyperlinked item is an editorial piece, by leveraging the credibility of this national publication and positioning itself as an equally credible source of opposition information.

Furthermore, re-appropriation of headlines, leads, visuals and captions enables WCO to produce a slanted summary of the hyperlinked item through these conventions – a slanted summary which functions both as an 'editorialized' interpretative lens for its audience and promotes the thematic parameters of opposition. In this example, we see how WCO amplifies elements of the hyperlinked item which support opposition to IWTs – in this case, that the policies governing this energy initiative are flawed and that IWT developers are the only entity

[3] Ethos is defined as "the persuasive appeal of one's character, especially how this character is established by means of the speech or discourse" ("Ethos").

to benefit – themes which figure prominently in WCO's overall oppositional discourse. Although this is a single example, when considered cumulatively, the amplification achieved through slanted summaries in the form of headlines, leads, and captions throughout the blog collectively constitutes the parameters of opposition and creates a social network of opposition. This objective is further achieved through WCO's incorporation of environmental melodrama within this category of blog posts.

As previously mentioned, Schwarze (2006) characterizes environmental melodrama as rhetoric which positions a controversy on a social-political plane; polarizes positions; incorporates moral appeals; and, finally, promotes solidarity. Again, the sample post above evidences these rhetorical elements at work and the following discussion provides a brief illustrative example of environmental melodrama in practice.

According to Schwarze (2006), environmental melodrama positions a controversy on a social-political plane. In doing so, rhetors employing this form attempt to disrupt existing "power relationships" (246) by portraying the controversy as one which exists between collective agents as opposed to particular individuals. In this example, the headline includes the following dramatic phrase "Ontario's electricity policy disaster" which implies that the fault for this 'disaster' be attributed to the provincial government. Such implication deflates the power of the government by calling into question its credibility. Additionally, the use of "Ontario" implies that this 'disaster' is one which affects the entire province – notably the collective 'consumer'. Schwarze observes that another way in which rhetors attempt to disrupt "power relationships" (246) is through the promotion of shared victimization. This strategy is rhetorically enacted in the caption and lead in which the collective consumer is said to be faced with "more losses and

higher bills" while "lucky wind power generators" financially benefit from "massive revenue guarantees" on behalf of the government's IWT policy. The presentation of a victim/villain binary is further promoted in the second feature of melodrama according to Schwarze (2006) – the polarization of positions.

Throughout my corpus, a commonly used tactic to polarize positions it to imply that the government is complicit by frequently insinuating that the government is in collusion with IWT developers. Although this tactic isn't used explicitly in this example, we do see how the government and IWT developers are discursively aligned by a contractual "guarantee" which, in effect, positions consumers on the opposing side of this controversy. Furthermore, WCO frames the justification for this perception through two distinct moral appeals.

According to Schwarze (2006), "the distinctively melodramatic frame typically interprets polarized, socio-political conflicts in moral terms" (250) by framing "conflict not as a mere difference of opinion, but as evidence of fundamental moral clash" (244). In this example, we see that WCO juxtaposes the government's electricity policy with both fairness and the environment. In terms of fairness, the "massive revenue guarantees" are juxtaposed with "more losses and higher bills" with the implication being that the IWT industry is taking advantage of taxpayers. In terms of the environment, IWTs, an energy source otherwise promoted as being environmentally friendly, are juxtaposed with the claim that they provide "no environmental benefit". As an extension of this claim, WCO includes a photograph of what we are to assume is the entrance to an IWT development. This photograph implies that the periphery of these developments discloses their 'true' environmental impact as the surrounding landscape has apparently undergone a significant negative environmental transformation. By portraying the

IWT industry's motives as being fueled by cash as opposed to climate change, WCO, by extension, calls into question the morality of the government as it is the institution who is allowing, and essentially enabling, such unfairness and a potentially negative environmental impact. Through such appeals, WCO employs environmental melodrama to promote the perception of moral/environmental "injustice" (Schwarze 250) in an attempt to create identification amongst opponents by dis-identifying from supporters. Identification is further fostered through the final feature of Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama – appeals to solidarity.

Through this type of appeal, the rhetor creates a "unitary identification" for opponents in an attempt to enact "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244). The rhetorical by-product of this tactic is to reposition opponents from the margins of this controversy into the center thus justifying their continuing opposition. This tactic is enacted in the above blog post as key opposition themes within this controversy are reiterated – flawed policy, burden to taxpayers, no environmental benefit – as well as legitimizing these themes by aligning them with the findings of an 'expert' – an "economist" and "economics professor". In essence, through this appeal, WCO presents a justified opposition which, in effect, helps maintain the emotional energy so important to sustaining protest over time.

The analysis of this single embedded third-party edited blog post offers a snapshot of the rhetorical elements and implications in WCO's re-appropriation of journalistic conventions and enactment of environmental melodrama as a rhetorical form. However, the purpose of my research is to go beyond the instance and explore these dynamics across WCO's oppositional discourse. To do so, my research responds to the following question: *Using environmental*

melodrama as a conceptual framework, how does Wind Concerns Ontario use embedded third-party edited posts as part of its digitized opposition to industrial wind turbines? My response to this question is situated within the perspective of environmental rhetorical criticism in that such an approach helps us "understand the nature of environmental disputes" (Herndl & Brown 5), and that environmental rhetorical criticism offers "a more finely grained or explanatorily thicker description of the various positions and discourses held by protagonists in debates and conflicts about windfarm and wind energy" (Barry et al. 92). In responding to this question, the intention of my research is not only to delineate the complexities of oppositional discourse within Ontario's IWT controversy, it is also to contribute to environmental rhetoric scholarship by illuminating the particular stylistic and strategic characteristics, possibilities, and nuances of environmental melodrama. By exploring WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts through the lens of environmental melodrama, my research will complicate a conventional understanding of rhetorical melodrama – illustrating that as a rhetorical form, melodrama isn't a simple, sensationalized, hyperbolized emotional form but rather one which is complex and discursively malleable.

The impetus for my research is both personal and professional. Personally, I think opposition to renewable energy, such as industrial wind turbines, is a fascinating controversy. In an era of impending climate change, many people applauded the Ontario government's implementation of the Green Energy Act in 2009 and concluded that the more IWT developments, the better; however, it quickly became apparent that not everyone in the province, especially those in rural regions slated for such developments, shared such support.

I was first introduced to the IWT development controversy in 2012 while driving through the municipality of Cavan-Monaghan, an area located approximately 100 kilometres northeast of Toronto, Ontario. On fence posts, trees, front lawns, and in store windows, signs were posted which vehemently opposed a proposed IWT development in the area, opposition to a proposed development which continues to this day. What struck me was the number of people obviously committed to their cause, and I wanted to understand why ordinary people in a rural region of the province were so engaged in an attempt to oppose something which many others in the province, myself included, believed was an environmental intervention without rebuke. This experience ignited my interest to investigate this controversy further, and in doing so, to examine the ways in which grassroots organizations frame their opposition. To do so, I decided to examine the oppositional discourse of Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO), a coalition of grassroots organizations opposed to IWTs in the province of Ontario.

Professionally, as part of my teaching assignment, I teach a course which explores argumentative strategies both within and outside an academic context. In an attempt to engage my students in the nature of argumentation, I have found it useful to first ask students to explore how arguments are constructed in the conflicts which exist within their own communities. In doing so, my intention is to firstly familiarize them with the structure of arguments in general. Secondly, my intention is to prompt students to engage with the issues affecting their communities to encourage their civic engagement. Thirdly, my intention is to impart to them with a rhetorical skill set so that as educated residents of their future communities, they can engage in advocacy.

In exploring these topics with my students, my interest in the IWT in Ontario grew. I became interested in exploring the rhetorical strategies employed by residents who, through the formation of grassroots organizations, are attempting to influence an issue facing their community – in this specific case, the development of IWTs. Upon my exposure to the grassroots opposition of industrial wind turbines, I recognized that this controversy was contextually complicated and unique. In an attempt to understand how opponents rhetorically navigate such complexity and uniqueness within their opposition, I decided to make an exploration of the rhetorical dynamics of this discourse the focus of this research project.

Specifically, I want to determine if these particular rhetorical dynamics could be categorized within a larger framework within environmental rhetorical criticism scholarship. By doing so, I hope to contribute to the scholarship in this field through answering such questions as "how do opponents rhetorically navigate supporting sustainable resources while opposing a specific renewable energy technology? How do opponents rhetorically and conceptually navigate accusations of NIMBYism? How do opponents rhetorically frame the key themes and values of their opposition, and which themes unify or fragment their own rhetoric?" Furthermore, the intention of my research is to offer "some concrete and illuminating" (Spoel 268) answers regarding the nature of grassroots opposition to IWTs in Ontario which could be applied by scholars in a variety of fields studying such opposition in other geographic areas. Finally, my intention is to offer insights which will benefit grassroots organizations engaged in this or similar controversies, provoke interest on this topic for other stakeholders within this controversy, such as institutions and developers, and inform anyone who is using, or is considering using, melodrama as a rhetorical response to a social conflict.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is structured in the following way. In **Chapter One: The Rhetorical Exigence of Grassroots IWT Opposition in Ontario**, I explain why, as a phenomenon, grassroots organizations' opposition to the development of industrial wind turbines (IWTs) in Ontario is a contextually complex, unique environmental controversy – a controversy which can be best illuminated by exploring the rhetorical dynamics of this discourse. To do so, I discuss the exigencies of this rhetorical situation[4] detailing how political, economic, technical and social factors contributed to the Ontario government implementing the Green Energy Act in 2009 and how these factors were further complicated by this legislation. Furthermore, I highlight how these factors underscore a gap between government support and local opposition towards IWTs and how this gap represents an environmental paradox. As opposed to typical environmental controversies in which 'anti-environmental' institutions are pitted against 'pro-environmental' groups, the IWT controversy in Ontario presents a phenomenon where both sides of the debate occupy similar, yet contradictory positions. Extending the observation of Warren et al. (2005) that "in the case of wind power there are strong 'green' arguments on both sides of the debate" (854), I demonstrate that both the government and grassroots organizations make pro-environmental arguments and that both sides support the concept of renewable energy generation in principle. However, the nexus of grassroots opposition is a belief that the policies governing IWT developments are flawed and, by extension, they perceive that the creation and

[4] Bitzer (1968) defines a rhetorical situation as "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence" with the following constituent parts: an "exigence" which is defined as "an imperfection marked by urgency" (6); an audience, the "mediators of change" (7); and "constraints" which are "made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence" (8). For further discussion on the concept of a rhetorical situation, see Vatz (1973) and Biesecker (1989).

implementation of these policies constitute a procedural injustice. Seen in this way, grassroots opposition to IWTs revolves around issues of both substantive and procedural environmental justice.[5]

For example, WCO states that they support "responsible, environmentally sound solutions to our energy demands and environmental challenges." Yet, WCO also argues that their "mission is to protect the health, safety and quality of life of the people of Ontario from industrial wind turbines" because the:

> The plan supported by the Green Energy Act to locate industrial wind power plants at an accelerated schedule, with little oversight and no cost-benefit analysis, is tearing apart the very fabric of rural Ontario. Along with transformers, transmission lines, overhead distribution wires and substations these industrial wind turbines threaten people and the environment in serene, historic, rural communities, on prime agricultural land, migratory bird paths and close to sensitive wetlands, designated wildlife areas and pristine shorelines. ("About Us")

Based on this, we see how WCO's environmental concerns are interconnected to concerns regarding human health and the well-being of rural communities impacted by IWT developments and how such concerns position this dispute as an environmental controversy. Yet, while environmental issues are central to both the government and grassroots organizations' perspectives, the range of concerns for both parties extends beyond strictly environmental

[5] According to the *Global Justice and the Environment* project at Newcastle and Oxford Universities, "procedural environmental justice is usually understood to require the opportunity for all people regardless of race, ethnicity, income, national origin or educational level to have meaningful involvement in environmental decision-making" while "substantive (or distributive) environmental justice is usually understood to require that environmental benefits and burdens are distributed fairly" (https://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/g.m.long/environmental_justice.html).

matters which complicates and ambiguates the parameters of the dispute. Therefore, to properly understand oppositional discourse within this environmental controversy, these factors need to be accounted for.

In **Chapter Two: A Review of Scholarship Which Explores Opposition to IWTs**, I situate my research within the scope of existing scholarship which examines opposition to IWTs both in Western Europe and Ontario. Based on the gaps which I identify in this scholarship, I justify the exploration of the oppositional discourse within my selected phenomenon from a rhetorical perspective. Additionally, I note existing scholarship which supports rhetorical criticism as a valuable methodology for exploring such opposition.

In **Chapter Three: Methodology Used in the Selection of Texts for Analysis**, I justify my selection of WCO's website as my principal textual artefact as well discuss my rationale for focusing my analysis on their use of embedded third-party edited posts. In doing so, I demonstrate that such use constitutes a unique rhetorical strategy within digitized environmental advocacy – a strategy which has not been identified by the existing scholarship. In addition, I discuss how the scholarship which examines the rhetorical function of headlines offers a useful synergy for my analysis. Finally, I describe the methodology which I employed for selecting my corpus.

In **Chapter Four: Rhetorical Criticism and Environmental Melodrama**, I provide an overview of the key themes within environmental communication to situate my research within this field. I also discuss how environmental rhetorical criticism is a valuable lens for exploring the rhetorical dynamics within my selected phenomenon as it is predicated on the belief that "social/symbolic and environmental processes…are mutually implicated. That is, environmental

problems are both materially produced…and are socially or discursively constructed" (Cox & Depoe 14). Furthermore, I highlight that as a methodology, environmental rhetorical criticism enable critics to "understand the nature of environmental disputes" (Herndl & Brown 5) and that through this approach, I can more effectively untangle the discursive complexity which lies at the centre of this controversy. In this chapter, I also introduce Schwarze's (2006) concept of environmental melodrama, the guiding framework of my analysis, and explain why environmental melodrama is a useful heuristic for exploring and understanding my selected phenomenon, sharing in the belief that "melodrama stands as a relatively neglected but potentially productive category for interpreting the framing of public controversies" (Schwarze 241). In addition, I introduce two additional theoretical lenses which help me categorize and explain particular rhetorical elements exhibited in WCO's oppositional discourse – elements which work in concert with WCO's use of environmental melodrama. Through both Fahnestock's (2011) work on rhetorical stylistics and Meyer's (2000) discussion of "differentiation humour" (310), I explain how these theories intersect with Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama and how such intersections figure into my analysis.

In **Chapter Five: A Rhetorical Analysis of WCO's Use of Embedded Third-party Edited Posts as a Rhetorical Response to the Development of IWTs in Ontario**, I analyze WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts for each May from 2011 – 2016 to accomplish the following objectives: firstly, in responding to Schwarze's (2006) directive to scholars to explore environmental melodrama in relation to kairos[6] (Schwarze 257), particularly the

[6] Fahnestock (2011) defines kairos as "seizing the opportune moment in rhetorical planning" (16) as well as the way in which "a speaker or writer takes into account the contingencies of a given place and time, and considers the opportunities within this specific context for words to be effective and appropriate to that moment ("Kairos").

"conditions that are more or less favorable for melodramatic intervention" (256), I describe how WCO's use of these posts function as a form of participatory journalism as part of a contemporary digitized rhetorical strategy to enact its oppositional discourse. Secondly, to establish that environmental melodrama is an accurate categorization and recurrent rhetorical strategy within WCO's oppositional discourse, I explain, as per Schwarze (2006), the four features of environmental melodrama and analyze the particular rhetorical tactics WCO uses in its embedded third-party edited posts to fulfill each feature. Through this analysis, I contribute to a "richer theory of melodrama" (Schwarze 240). Thirdly, by analyzing how WCO appropriates the 'scientific' and 'technical' discursive tendencies typical of technocratic discourse, I identify and discuss how WCO uses environmental melodrama as a counter-rhetoric to the institutional discourses of government and industry. Additionally, I also explain how WCO appropriates "differentiation humour" (J. Meyer 321) as part of its rhetorical melodramatic strategy. Through an exploration of WCO's rhetorical appropriation, I contribute to an understanding of the ways in which environmental melodrama can function as an "integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256). Furthermore, this contribution counters assumptions about the static nature of melodrama as my analysis reveals how melodrama can function as a discursively malleable form. By analyzing the features highlighted above, I intend to produce a textured understanding of this phenomenon – an understanding which will be of benefit to scholars, stakeholders, and the general public.

In **Chapter Six: Recapping a Distinct Phenomenon**, I summarize the key findings from my analysis, address how my research relates to or extends the relevant scholarship within this

area, and offer suggestions for future research in relation to both environmental melodrama and IWT oppositional discourse.

Chapter 1

1. The Rhetorical Exigence of Grassroots IWT Opposition in Ontario

In his article, "Reflections on Rhetorical Criticism," David Zarefsky argues that in contemporary rhetorical criticism, the most fruitful task of the modern critic is to "illuminate the text" (385) by asking two self-admittedly "inelegant" questions: "what's going on here?" and "what about it?" (385). To answer the first question, Zarefsky urges the critic to "look beneath the surface and between the lines, in order to perceive and explicate what he or she believes to be the underlying rhetorical dynamics of the work" (385). To answer the second, Zarefsky urges the critic to explain "how the analysis of the work resolves an anomaly or paradox that might relate to the understanding of the text, to the purposes of the rhetor, to the influences of the work in a larger historical context, or to whatever question has brought the critic to the text in the first place" (386).

To recognize and understand the underlying rhetorical dynamics of IWT controversy in Ontario, it is important to first examine the rhetorical situation[7] of this controversy. Therefore, in the following chapter I present what I consider to be the key factors which led to the rhetorical exigence[8] of opposition to IWTs in Ontario.

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[7] As previously mentioned, Bitzer (1968) defines a rhetorical situation as "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence" (6). Essentially, a rhetorical situation is comprised of the factors which contribute to a rhetorical response. For further discussion on the concept of a rhetorical situation, see Vatz (1973) and Biesecker (1989).

[8] Again, Bitzer (1968) defines an "exigence" as "an imperfection marked by urgency" (6) – simply put, the reason(s) behind a rhetorical response.

Electricity generated from wind power is far from a 21st, let alone a 20th century, idea. In fact, according to Ackermann & Söder, "the power of the wind has been utilised for at least three thousand years" (2002). However, utilization of wind energy to supplement or replace existing generation systems is a modern approach. Such utilization has garnered "widespread international support…to mitigate the threat of climate change" as many believe that, "post-construction, wind power emits no greenhouse gases, has none of the risks of nuclear energy and disrupts ecosystems much less than large-scale hydro-power projects" (Warren et al. 854). Based on these beliefs and in an era when "wind energy has reached the stage of being economically viable under certain conditions" (Wolsink 2000 49), many governments in Western Europe and North America have created policies in an attempt to drastically increase the amount of electricity generated from wind turbines. The result is that "the wind energy industry has become one of the fastest growing industries in the world" (Vyn & McCullogh 366). For example, renewable energy output projections across Europe, in which wind turbines figure predominantly, include "20% of total electricity generation to arise from renewable resources by 2020" in the UK (Devine-Wright 2007 3), "35%" of total production by 2030" in Denmark, 10% of total production by 2015 in Sweden (N. Meyer 350; 354-45), and 35% of total production by 2020 in Germany (Schulz).

Yet, amidst this rapid expansion, Toke et al. observe that planning acceptances at the "local decision-making" level in Western Europe are low (1134). For example, "around 60% of all wind power planning applications are rejected by local councils in England/Wales;" "in Spain, around one in five applications receives significant opposition from local wildlife conservation

groups," and "in the Netherlands about 80% of proposed wind power developments are not given planning consent" (1134). Toke et al. also note that even in the case of Denmark and Germany, two of the largest wind energy producers in the world, the influx of wind energy generation is primarily due to their adoption of local ownership policies as a means of reducing local opposition (1134). Yet, Schulze (2013) notes that at least in Germany, such support is currently waning. The apparent gap between government support for and local opposition to IWT developments is further complicated when one considers the general public support for wind energy. This conundrum leaves scholars such as Bell et al. (2005) to question, "if approximately 80%[9] of the public in the UK support wind energy, why is only a quarter of contracted wind power capacity actually commissioned?" (460) – a question relevant to the majority of countries in Western European who are promoting industrial wind turbine developments. In Ontario, Canada where wind turbine development is a relatively new phenomenon, a similar gap between support and opposition also exists.

In 2009, the Liberal government implemented Ontario's Green Energy Act (GEA), an Act that according to the government will "boost investment in renewable energy projects and increase conservation, creating green jobs and economic growth in Ontario" (Ontario Ministry of Energy "Green Energy Act"). The GEA was, without question, monumental. It legislated such wide-ranging initiatives as eliminating coal-fired generation stations by 2014, which according to the Ministry of Energy was to "be the largest climate change initiative in Canada" ("Green Energy Act"). The Ontario provincial government also stated that "these measures reflect Ontario's leadership in harvesting the benefits to the economy, public health and the environment that

[9] The veracity of this figure is questioned on page 42. However, its usage here is meant to underscore an undeniable gap between support and opposition.

renewable energy projects create. The GEA and REA [Renewable Energy Act] support energy projects that reduce our use of fossil fuels and provide clean, sustainable power today and in the future" (Ontario Ministry of Energy "Achieving" 4), with wind turbine energy generation second only to hydro in the overall renewable energy portfolio.

The concept of the GEA reflected increasing public concerns for the environment, especially as climate change became part of the social conversation. Such concerns revolved around a desire to eliminate fossil fuel as a principal energy source and for an increase in environmental protection. In fact, an Ipsos Reid 2010 public poll[10] indicates that 90% of respondents support the statement, "Ever since the BP Oil spill disaster, we need to focus more on alternative sources of energy" (13) while 95% support the statement that "it is important to me that Ontario's electricity supply becomes more environmentally friendly" (10). This poll also concluded that overall, 89% of respondents stated support for "production of wind energy in your region of Ontario" (5).

As a result of the Liberal government's legislation of the Green Energy Act (2009), many residents in southern Ontario rural communities have experienced a dramatic alteration of their local landscapes – the construction of 2 465 industrial wind turbines (Canadian Wind Energy Association "Ontario" [as of January 2016]) approximately 80 metres high with blades exceeding 40 metres (Gipe & Murphy 7-8). In response to these developments, as of June 2017, approximately 50 grassroots organizations have formed online opposition groups (Wind Concerns Ontario "Find Your Community Group"). Furthermore, an increasing number of

[10] Hill & Knott (2010) state that this poll was "conducted by Ipsos Reid on behalf of the Canadian Wind Energy Association (CanWEA)" (155); however, this could not be confirmed or denied. Cited in: Hill, Stephen D., and James D. Knott. "Too close for comfort: social controversies surrounding wind farm noise setback policies in Ontario." Renewable Energy L. & Pol'y Rev. (2010): 153-168.

municipalities have publically stated that they are "unwilling hosts"[11] of proposed wind turbine development applications. To date, out of a possible 216 municipalities in Ontario, there are 91 which have declared themselves as an "unwilling host" and 30 which have declared themselves as "concerned" (Ontario Unwilling Hosts "Not a Willing Host").

In exploring the disconnect between the provincial government's support of a green energy initiative and community-level opposition towards industrial wind turbines in Ontario, a fundamental question is raised: *In an era of climate change concerns and energy supply dilemmas, why is this particular renewable energy generation strategy – industrial wind turbines – being met with such opposition within the province of Ontario?* To answer this question, we must first explore the rhetorical elements which ignited opposition within this phenomenon.

To begin with, it is beneficial to overview of the political, policy, and social factors which influenced the Government of Ontario to legislate the GEA in its attempt "to make Ontario a global leader in the development of renewable energy, clean distributed energy and conservation, creating thousands of jobs, economic prosperity, energy security, and climate protection" (Ontario Sustainable Energy Association, "A Green Energy Act for Ontario: Executive Summary"). An overview of these factors can be achieved by highlighting what I consider to be the key phases within the modern evolution of renewable energy generation in the province of Ontario. Therefore, in the following section, the intention is to provide the reader with an

[11] According to Ontario-Unwilling-Hosts.org/, "To be included as an 'Unwilling Host', it is necessary for the municipal resolution to indicate two things – no current support for future wind turbine developments and some phrasing that indicates that the statement relates to their community. It is not necessary to use the specific phrase, 'Unwilling Host' in the resolution. Our definition would include not supporting additional wind developments until some condition is met, i.e. health studies or capacity requirements.

understanding of these key phases and to explain how these phases culminated in the enactment of the Liberal Party's Green Energy Act in 2009.

1.1 A Very Brief History of the Electricity Generation Model in Ontario

In Canada, the "electricity industry is organized along provincial lines with regulatory and policy matters residing primarily with provincial (and territorial) governments" (Yatchew & Baziliauskas 3885). For much of the 20th century in Ontario, the generation and distribution of electricity was overseen by one of the province's most distinguished crown corporations – the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, renamed Ontario Hydro in 1974. However, it is worthwhile noting that the objective behind creating this organization in 1906 was "principally to build transmissions lines to supply municipal utilities with power generated at Niagara Falls by existing private companies" (Hydro One) – a model that has been reapplied in the modern renewable energy generation context within the province. By the early 1990s, a slowing economy and an increase in energy efficiency across commercial and residential markets, along with cost overruns of the province's ambitious nuclear energy strategy of the 1970s, 80s & 90s, led governments to reevaluate the efficacy of Ontario Hydro which, at this point, had amassed $38.1 billion in debt (Spears).

1.2 The Harris Government's Re-shaping of Ontario's Electricity Model

In 1995, residents of Ontario elected the Progressive Conservative Party as the majority government. Principally, this party campaigned on the mandate of a "Common Sense Revolution" which advocated for a major increase in fiscal responsibility on behalf of government. In terms of the electricity sector, the growing debt of Ontario Hydro, along with

decreasing electricity demand as a result of both an increasing economic recession and increasing electricity efficiency resulted in drastic increases in electricity rates: "during the early 1990s: 8.6 percent in 1991, 11.8 percent in 1992, and 7.9 percent in 1993" (Rowlands 190). In response, the newly elected Progressive Conservative Party dramatically restructured Ontario Hydro "to follow a more market-oriented model due to the state's serious financial deficit" (Nishimura 5). To accomplish this goal, the government legislated the Energy Competition Act (1998) which dissolved Ontario Hydro into four distinct organizations: Ontario Power Generation (responsible for electricity generation); Hydro One Inc. (responsible for maintaining transmission and distribution); the Independent Electricity Market Operator (responsible for managing electricity systems and operating whole electricity markets), and the Ontario Electricity Board, "responsible for regulatory authority over distribution utilities" (Ontario Energy Board). The objective of this restructuring was to open electricity generation markets in an attempt to "deliver electricity at the lowest cost possible so that businesses, many of them large users of electricity, could create jobs" (Rowlands 190). Yet, amidst all of this restructuring, renewable energy received very little attention. Instead, the "increased efficiency of fossil fuels was explicitly stressed" (Nishimura 5) and Ontario's coal-fired generation facilities were considered a cost-effective solution to bridge the increasing gap between supply and demand. Thus, as noted by Rowlands (2007), "when the electricity problem is framed as a cost problem, renewable resources do not offer a solution. They are viewed, through traditional economic lens [sic]…as being more expensive than conventional electricity options" (190). However, this economic lens was soon to change.

Between 1998 and 2000, "in response to growing concerns over air pollution in Ontario, the Ontario Medical Association and the Ontario Clean Air Alliance led a remarkably influential

campaign against the province's coal-fired generation plants" (Ferguson-Martin & Hill 1654). This campaign framed coal-fired generation plants as a "public health crisis…causing 1,800 premature deaths each year in the province. Moreover, federal government estimates show that air pollution is adding an extra $1 billion annually to Canada's health care costs" (Gibbons and Bjorkquist). The Ontario Clean Air Alliance, in conjunction with the Ontario Medical Association, argued that "if electricity market restructuring is not done with exceptional care to protect human health and the environment, it could exacerbate the air pollution crisis in Ontario" (Gibbons and Bjorkquist). With widespread media coverage, the public's concern over the negative health impact of coal-generated electricity escalated. As noted by Nishimura (2012), opinion polls between 1999 and 2001 indicated that the "majority of southwestern Ontario survey respondents wanted coal-fired power plants to be phased out" (7). Also, Rowlands notes that in both 2001 and 2002, the number of total days of smog advisories issued by the Ontario Ministry of Environment more than doubled compared to annual days in the preceding decade (192), further increasing concern among Ontario residents. In fact, these factors were instrumental in the Liberal government running on a platform in the 2003 provincial election which included a commitment to "phase out coal-burning generating plants by 2007, and replace with cleaner energy sources. [The] Liberals say the 6,100 MW from coal plants can be replaced by 18,002 MW using clean energy sources by 2007" (Moore). Thus, as public concern increased regarding the publicized negative health effects of coal-fired generation, including the economic consequences to the publically funded health-care system within the province, the policy lens began to shift towards renewable energy as a viable option.

Another factor which scholars observe as compounding Ontario residents' concerns regarding the environment, thus further placing renewable energy at the forefront of public policy, was the

"the E. coli drinking water tragedy of Walkerton in 2000 due in part to reduced environmental regulatory enforcement during the 1990s" (Ferguson-Martin & Hill 1653). Walkerton, a rural community of approximately 5000 residents located 175 kilometers north-west of Toronto, faced a crisis in May 2000 when "Escherichia coli 0157:H7 and Campylobacter jejuni contaminated the drinking water supply…As a result, seven people died and over 2,000 were ill" (Holme 1). As details of this event unfolded, it became apparent that cost cutting, mismanagement, and an absence of enforcement on behalf of the provincial government were key factors which led to this tragedy. Rowlands (2007) supports this assessment, observing that the Progressive Conservative Party took a policy approach in which "fewer environmental regulations were thought to be good for business, and thus good for employment and good for the province as a whole. As a result, the Environment Ministry's operating budget was cut by 42 percent between 1994 and 2000, and hundreds of employees were laid off" (194). Public outrage towards the Progressive Conservative Party's management of its Ministry of the Environment was not isolated to Walkerton. Rowlands (2007) further observes that "any new environmental challenge in Ontario that emerged after May 2000 immediately adopted greater salience as a result of the Walkerton tragedy" (195). Increasingly, the 'environment' became a 'hot-button' topic during this time, and the Liberal government, the official opposition party, capitalized on this topic using environmental protection as a cornerstone for its 2003 provincial election platform. As noted earlier, this platform included specific mandates in regards to the electricity sector, including phasing out coal-fired generation by 2007. Furthermore, the Liberal party promised to "require all electricity suppliers to get five per cent of their power from renewable sources by 2007, and 10 per cent by 2010" (Moore) – initiatives that became the principal policies behind the Liberal government's enactment of the Green Energy Act in 2009.

1.3 The Liberal Government's Renewable Energy Initiative

Within the last decade, modernized societies across the globe increasingly ponder, as noted by Grant (2007), the answer to our environmental crisis – cut or switch. In the case of Ontario, the government's strategy is to attempt both. In terms of cutting, the Liberal government in Ontario determined that a reduction in the use of coal-fired generating stations would have a profound and positive environmental impact. It is the government's position that coal reduction "represents one of the largest single greenhouse-gas-reduction measures in North America and will reduce our carbon footprint from electricity by 75 per cent" (Ontario Ministry of the Environment). By phasing out coal, and based on decade-projections of increasing electricity dependency, the province looked to large-scale existing technologies to supplement the projected electricity gap: nuclear, hydro, gas. Yet at the same time, the province also began its campaign promoting renewable energy.

In terms of switching, the Liberal government began the process of pursuing renewable energy programs. The world-wide research and development of renewable technologies substantially decreased the cost of these technologies and led to an influx of installations across many parts of Western Europe, most notably Germany. The influx of renewable energy technologies in Germany had a profound positive impact on their economy. The Ontario provincial government took notice and recognized a unique economic opportunity to become a North American leader in the renewable energy sector.

In 2003, residents of Ontario elected the Liberal party with a majority government. In the successive years, "faced with growing energy demand and aging infrastructure" (Stokes 492),

this government discussed, debated, and implemented a series of policies[12] with their principal electricity goal being an increase in the amount of renewable energy within the existing provincial electricity grid. For example, between 2004-05 the Liberal government issued a series of Requests for Proposals (RfP) to supplement its Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) policy, defined as "a quota system which sets percentage targets for the amount of RE [renewable energy] to be included in the power generation mix of a certain locale" (Nishimura 2). This business model, common in the United States renewable energy sector during this era, represented a "market approach: renewable energy developers would 'compete' against each other, with the business going to those who could offer the good at the lowest price" (Rowlands 195). Although this model resulted in the integration of nearly 400 MW of electricity with the majority from wind power,[13] developers complained that "political barriers strongly hindered the implementation of RE projects and made investment in the RE market difficult" (Nishimura 7). To complicate matters further, in 2005 the price of steel, the principal material in wind turbines, nearly doubled compared to two years earlier, and "what appeared to be lucrative payments to renewable energy developers in 2003 suddenly looked less attractive just two years later" (Rowlands 200). Thus, although developers were initially willing to fulfill the government's RfP initiative, "cost changes and thin margins during bidding created delays for many approved projects" (Stokes 493) which escalated developers' calls for standard pricing and streamlined approval processes. Yet, developers were not the only ones questioning the merits of the Liberal government's Renewable Portfolio Standard. A growing number of stakeholders believed that this model favoured developers – the majority of them headquartered outside of Canada – and

[12] For a more detailed description and analysis of the policies presented here, especially in terms of technology & economics, please see Rowlands (2007), Nishimura (2012), Ferguson-Martin & Hill (2011), and Stokes (2013).
[13] For the sake of comparison, currently peak demand in Ontario is approximately 20 000 – 25 000MW, with wind energy accounting for 2 500MW of generation.

that the economic potential of a renewable energy revolution excluded the participation of local communities.

The main stakeholder which attempted to rally local communities to capitalize on the economic potential of local renewable energy projects was the Ontario Sustainable Energy Association (OSEA). This organization "in response to the exclusion of small, locally owned renewable energy projects from the province's call for proposals for new renewable electricity generation…launched a campaign for advanced renewable energy tariffs in 2004" (Ontario Sustainable Energy Association "OSEA Archives: Renewable Energy Standard Offer Program (RESOP)"). Approaching Ontario's electricity problem from a cost perspective, the OSEA framed its campaign around two polar options before the province: money could either be sent out of the province to import energy, or money could be invested within the province, especially within local communities, to initiate a "rural economic revival" (Rowlands 198). To this day, the OSEA advocates for "community power" where "community power is a class of sustainable energy projects that are owned, developed and controlled in full or in part (50 per cent or more) by residents of the community in which the project is located (Ontario Sustainable Energy Association "About Us").

This model, though new to the Ontario renewable energy sector at the time, had existed in some Western European countries since the 1990s, especially where wind power generation has been most prominent. For example, as noted by Toke et al. (2008), Germany and Denmark not only have a high level of wind turbine deployment, but they also have a "high proportion of local ownership" (1139). Yet, within these contexts, local, or co-operative ownership, was only able to thrive "where incentive regimes are stable and deliver a substantial level of subsidy," most

notably in Germany were feed-in tariffs (FITs) have existed since 1991 (Toke et al. 1138). Using the German model as a template, the OSEA advocated for "advanced renewable tariffs, a version of a feed-in tariff with variable rates based on the technology and project size" (Stokes 493) in which "the supplier [whether international or local] will be paid for electricity delivered from its generating facility for a long-term payment period, in accordance with the terms of the FIT Contract" (Independent Electricity System Operator "Introduction"). This model was significantly different from the auction-based, market-driven directive of the Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) policy where renewable energy developers bid for contracts in competition with each other. In OSEA's proposed FIT model, applicants essentially were in competition with only themselves to secure a FIT contract with the government. Furthermore, since this proposed model gave local communities the opportunity to secure such a contract, the government was intrigued as they saw "the potential to have numerous voters, particularly valuable rural voters, appreciative of the ruling Liberal government" (Rowlands 200).

Armed with endorsement for their FIT proposal from the David Suzuki Foundation (Rowlands 199), the OSEA embarked on a publicity campaign aimed at reinforcing "their relationship with the farmers [sic] association through grassroots engagement" (Stokes 494) in an attempt to sway government. Throughout this publicity campaign in 2004, including a series of well-attended public consultation sessions, the OSEA attempted to persuade Ontario farmers that they could "spin profits from the wind,…Ontario farmers could earn billions in new revenue, helping them to stay on the land and do what they do best" (Rowlands 201). Through this strategy, the OSEA "built grassroots political support and expanded its membership" (Stokes 494). The political clout which the OSEA achieved during this campaign was instrumental in influencing the renewable energy directives of the province.

Furthermore, as was previously noted, as part of their 2003 election platform, the Liberal government promised to close coal-fired generation within the province by 2007 which would result in the elimination of "6 000MW of capacity" (Rowlands 197). Therefore, even though the RPS model effectively initiated the renewable energy industry in Ontario, it quickly became evident that, as a model, it would be insufficient to fulfill the impending supply gap as just under 1400 MW of renewable capacity had been generated by 2005.

In an attempt to appease voters' concerns regarding cleaner energy sources and environmental protection, resolve the impending electricity supply gap due to the elimination of coal-fired generation facilities, and appeal to rural voters' perception of renewed economic prosperity, the government introduced yet another renewable energy policy. In 2006, the province announced the Renewable Energy Standard Offer Program (RESOP), a feed-in tariff policy which was "largely in the form OSEA recommended…including 20-year contracts to both community power and traditional energy developers" (Stokes 493). This announcement was "viewed positively by environmentalists and the agricultural sector" (Ferguson-Martin & Hill 1654). Yet, such support was short-lived. Soon after implementation, developers, both international and local, "became dissatisfied with delays in project approvals," (Stokes 494) as the government continued to review and revise its regulatory guidelines governing the parameters of renewable energy developments – most notably in the case of industrial wind turbines. Such revisions also created a host of environmental concerns and procedural mechanism frustrations which intensified local opposition to IWTs.

1.4 The Origins of Local Opposition to IWT Developments in Ontario

In their article entitled, "Too Close for Comfort: Social Controversies Surrounding Wind Farm Noise Setback Policies in Ontario," Hill & Knott (2010) attempt to "understand the underlying factors that contributed to the policy controversy surrounding wind turbine noise and setback regulations in Ontario…to explore how and why noise became a central issue in wind turbine siting in Ontario" (155). Importantly, the authors highlight that prior to the Green Energy Act (2009), opposition was based primarily on noise concerns and groups such as Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO) [14] attempted a consultative strategy to shape regulatory guidelines governing industrial wind turbine developments, as opposed to outright opposition. For example, Hill & Knott (2010) observe that in June 2008, the Ministry of the Environment released a draft document detailing noise guidelines in which 18 comments were received through public consultation (161). Furthermore, in January 2009, WCO presented the government with a briefing in which they laid out a series of policy revision requests in an attempt to satisfy their concerns related to noise – concerns that could be satisfied by reducing the "sound level limit at a receptor;" ensuring that "permissible sound levels did not vary with wind speed;" and applying and enforcing "the noise guidelines after turbines are constructed" (Hill & Knott 161). Therefore, it is important to note that opposition groups, such as WCO, were opposed to regulatory guidelines governing wind turbine developments – rather than industrial wind turbines in principle – and thus attempted to engage the government in their concerns.

[14] Wind Concerns Ontario defines itself as a "coalition of individuals and grassroots citizen's groups from across Ontario…whose mission is to protect the health, safety and quality of life of the people of Ontario from industrial wind turbines" (Wind Concerns Ontario, "About Us").

Nonetheless, at the same time, "a confluence of industry and environmental groups were seeking streamlined planning and approval processes, particularly under the municipally-administered Planning Act, in an effort to reduce the red-tape associated with local opposition to wind energy" (Hill & Knott 162). Furthermore, during this time the province was "losing manufacturing jobs during the 2008 recession" (Stokes 494). Both of these factors led the government once again to reshape its renewable energy policies and to take drastic measures in pursuit of its green energy agenda and, in doing so, created the rhetorical situation out of which outright opposition stemmed.

1.5 The Green Energy Act & Green Economy Act (2009) & Increasing Opposition

As previously noted, in 2009, the Liberal government implemented Ontario's Green Energy Act & Green Economy Act (GEGEA). As noted by Stokes (2013), "the GEGEA had two fundamental goals: to reduce environmental externalities from the existing energy supply mix and to create an opportunity for Ontario to become the North American leader in clean energy jobs. In this way, the policy responded to both the Premier's coal phase-out goal and the economic recession" (494). To achieve these goals, the GEGEA intended to "introduce a simpler method to procure and develop generating capacity from renewable sources of energy," (Yatchew & Baziliauskas 3887) and to "satisfy the principle requests of wind energy proponents so that projects would be financially viable" (Ferguson-Martin & Hill 1654).

In terms of financial viability for the wind sector, the province increased the price paid under the Renewable Energy Standard Offer Program (RESOP) model from 11¢/kWh to anywhere between 13.5¢/kWh to 19.0¢/kWh (Yatchew & Baziliauskas 3890) with "guaranteed prices…for 20 years" (Yatchew & Baziliauskas 3889). Evidently, large-scale industrial wind turbine

developers found such increases favourable, and by 2011, “80%” of proposed projects exceeded a capacity of at least 10 MW (Yatchew & Baziliauskas 3890).

In terms of streamlining the approval process, the government took two drastic measures: “creating a single government agency, the Renewable Energy Facilitation Office (REFO), to coordinate approvals. As well, the GEA shift[ed] municipal planning authority for projects to the REFO” (Ferguson-Martin & Hill 1654). Specifically, the legislation dictated that approvals granted by the Ministry of the Environment superseded any existing planning or zoning by-laws at the municipal level. By increasing subsidies for renewable energy projects and streamlining the approval process, it is clear that the explicit purpose of this feature was to expedite green energy installations within the province and decrease financial risk on behalf of developers. However, many residents in rural communities with proposed turbine projects perceived that their concerns were being marginalized by the government since this legislation removed any potential for appeals to, or on behalf of, municipalities. Making matters worse, shortly after implementing the GEGEA, while speaking with journalists in London, Ontario in July 2009, Premier Dalton McGuinty stated that "we're going to say to Ontarians that it's okay to object on the basis of safety issues and environmental standards; if you have real concerns there, put those forward and we must find a way to address those. But don't say, 'I don't want it around here.' NIMBYism will no longer prevail" (Ferguson).

Firstly, this comment reflects a problematic perspective on behalf of the Premier. As will be demonstrated in the literature review chapter of the Western European scholarship which examines the social opposition to industrial wind turbines, NIMBYism is repeatedly proven to be both an inaccurate and problematic term. In fact, as noted by Burningham et al. (2006), the use

of NIMBY is essentially an "over-simplification of complex responses to land use decisions…[that] obfuscates understanding of the contexts, processes and motivations at stake and threatens to exacerbate conflict and misunderstanding between the parties involved" (6). Furthermore, many residents, including some Liberal party Members of Parliament (Benzie), reacted negatively to McGuinty's designation of "real" concerns – implying that he doesn't consider all concerns to be "real," as well as his implication that previously successful opposition was not based on objective rationales, but rather NIMBYism – an obviously pejorative label. Thus, both the government's public criticism of opposition and its unwillingness to incorporate community and municipal input amplified perceptions of distrust between many residents in these communities and the government, as well as within the communities themselves. In fact, from 2008 to 2012, the number of local groups who joined Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO), an opposition campaign comprised of grassroots organizations, doubled from 20 to 45 groups (Hill & Knott 154). As organized opposition increased, its influence grew. As noted by Stokes (2013), "the Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA), a long time [sic] supporter of wind energy and the FIT policy, spoke out publically against the policy in early 2012" (495). Furthermore, the OFA supported WCO's request for a "moratorium on further IWT development to stay in effect until the completion and public review of a comprehensive and scientifically robust health/noise study of the effects of wind turbines" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Briefing File").

In 2012, the government, in an attempt to rectify the growing distrust of organizations such as WCO and the OFA, revised the Renewable Energy Approval Regulation to mandate that "a proponent of a renewable energy project will have to consult with the following local interests prior to being able to submit a complete submission: municipalities and local boards; members of the public; and aboriginal communities" (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing).

However, many people in these communities viewed this as a "token public consultation," (Hill & Knott 168) since the input of communities had no direct or guaranteed bearing on whether or not a proposed project receives approval. Furthermore, in 2013, the provincial government announced plans to increase wind turbine energy installed capacity from 6% in 2013 to 15% by 2025 (Ontario Ministry of Energy "Achieving" 37) – and such a drastic increase further intensified local opposition to IWTs within the province.

As noted by Warren et al. (2005), "in the case of wind power, there are strong 'green' arguments on both sides of the debate" (854). Within the IWT controversy in Ontario, both institutional support for and opposition to IWT development in Ontario revolve around claims which promote environmental concerns. For the government, claims in support of renewable energy include increasing "conservation," mitigating "climate change," and benefiting "public health" (Ontario Ministry of Energy "Green Energy Act"). For WCO, opposition revolves around claims which include the belief that IWTs "are an inharmonious use of the land when sited near people's homes," that "large-scale wind turbines used for power generation are NOT an agricultural use of the land," and that "there ARE health effects from utility-scale wind turbine noise emissions due to the environmental noise and vibration they produce" (WCO "About Us"). Seen in this way, this controversy represents an environmental paradox. In typical environmental controversies, "pro-environmental" organizations oppose, based on environmental concerns, construction/destruction projects proposed by "anti-environmental" institutions. However, as noted, within the IWT controversy in Ontario, both support and opposition revolve around environmental concerns.

Furthermore, amidst this contestation, we see how these concerns constitute a disconnect in terms of "substantive environmental justice," defined by the Global Justice and the Environment project as the belief that "environmental benefits and burdens are distributed fairly." From the government's perspective, macro environmental concerns such as climate change are promoted as part of public health concern which can be offset by renewable energy technologies such as IWT developments. From WCO's perspective, based on the existing policies regarding siting protocol, rural communities are unfairly bearing the burden of IWT developments – a burden which they believe is putting both the environment and their health at risk.

Additionally, WCO perceives that the procedural mechanisms adopted by the government to expedite renewable energy legislation constitutes a procedural environmental injustice. For example, WCO claims that "the Green Energy Act has removed the democratic right of Ontario's municipalities to plan for such developments, and protect the property rights and health of their residents" ("About Us"). Both this claim and the belief that the opportunity to provide input is merely "token public consultation" (Hill & Knott 168) contributes to WCO believing they are barred from "meaningful involvement in environmental decision-making" (Global Justice and the Environment").

By 2016, increasing residential electrical costs became part of the provincial conversation regarding the renewable energy policies outlined in the Green Energy Act. On September 27th, 2016, the province announced that although it "remains committed to an affordable, clean and reliable electricity system, including renewables," it will "immediately suspend the second round of its Large Renewable Procurement (LRP II) process…halting procurement of over 1,000 megawatts (MW) of solar, wind, hydroelectric, bioenergy and energy" in an attempt to "save the

typical residential electricity consumer an average of approximately $2.45 per month on their electricity bill (Ministry of Energy "News Release: Ontario Suspends"). For many, this move signaled the "death" of the Green Energy Act (Epp); however, opposition to renewable energy developments, most notably IWTs, persists.

The question which I posed at the beginning of this chapter was: *in an era of climate change concerns and energy supply dilemmas, why are industrial wind turbines met with such opposition within the province of Ontario?* Yet, in posing this question, my intention was not to present a singular answer, but rather to explore this question's complexity because such an exploration is central to understanding the rhetorical elements which ignited oppositional discourse. Such exploration was centered on providing a contextual overview of the political, policy, and social factors and to demonstrate how these factors intertwined in the culmination of the Liberal government's Green Energy Act (2009). From there, my objective was to supply an overview of how the rapid revision and implementation of Ontario's renewable electricity policies, in an effort to escalate the renewable energy sector in the province, resulted in the rhetorical exigence in which grassroots organizations moved from a position of 'concerned' to one of 'opposed.'

In the analysis chapter of this dissertation, using rhetorical criticism, I will probe the intersections between these situational aspects and WCO's digitized oppositional discourse to IWTs to illuminate the prominent rhetorical elements of environmental melodrama within this unique environmental controversy. Specifically, by exploring WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts on its blog, I will show how rhetorically, WCO is in a unique position as a grassroots opposition organization in that it must balance between being opposed to IWTs while

simultaneously promoting environmental conservation. Furthermore, my research will scrutinize how this organization uses environmental melodrama to rhetorically dis-identify with government and institutional discourses and in doing so constitutes a homogeneous localized discourse that attempts to unify opposition to IWT developments.

Before providing such analysis, it is important to situate my research within the existing scholarship which examines opposition to IWTs both in Ontario and Western Europe. Thus, in the next chapter, I will highlight the variety of perspectives and insights which scholars offer through their study of this phenomenon, and I will highlight common themes and apparent gaps across this scholarship – themes and gaps which have informed my research.

Chapter 2

2. A Review of Scholarship Which Explores Opposition to IWTs

One of the objectives of my research is to complement the existing scholarship which examines opposition towards industrial wind turbines. To facilitate this complementarity, and further my understanding of this phenomenon, in the following section I will offer an overview of the notable themes that exist within the scholarship which examines the acceptance of and opposition to industrial wind turbine (IWT) developments in both Western Europe and Ontario. To accomplish this, a thematic networks analysis of this scholarship was conducted. The findings of my analysis will expose the variety of themes through which scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon and, most importantly, facilitate an illustration of the apparent gaps which exist within this scholarship. From an explanation of these gaps, justification for environmental rhetorical criticism of WCO's digitized oppositional discourse will be offered.

2.1 Thematic Networks Analysis Methodology

According to Attride-Stirling, "applying thematic networks is simply a way of organizing a thematic analysis of qualitative data. Thematic analyses seek to unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels, and thematic networks aim to facilitate the structuring and depiction of these themes" (387). To accomplish this, Attride-Stirling suggests that the process of analysis can be "be split into three broad stages: (a) the reduction or breakdown of the text; (b) the exploration of the text; and (c) the integration of the exploration" (6). Although Attride-Stirling discusses using this method in conjunction with a single text, I think it is a useful method for categorizing and exploring multiple texts to determine the existence of notable themes and is

thus suited my purpose. In applying this approach to this literature review, my first step was to select the literature relevant to my analysis on the "basis of the theoretical interests guiding the research questions" (6). Since my focus was to determine how scholars have examined opposition to IWTs, my first step was to collect a series of texts which shared this focus. This was done by utilizing search engines such as Academic Search Complete and Google Scholar and searching for the key words "opposition to industrial wind turbines." From this search, it became apparent that a significant amount of scholarship on this phenomenon existed within the context of Western Europe and pre-dated research specific to an Ontario context. Furthermore, much of the Western European scholarship receives mention in and thus informs Ontario-specific scholarship. I decided that to fully understand how scholars have explored this phenomenon, reading scholarship related to both geographical areas would be advantageous. I also made the decision that since IWT developments are a recent phenomenon, I would focus on scholarly sources which examine this issue within the last 20 years. Therefore, I decided to categorize texts within two broad categories: Western European scholarship regarding opposition to IWTs and Ontario scholarship regarding opposition to IWTs and to refine my key word searches to include each category. From there, I began the process of selecting individual scholarly sources. This process was completed by noting the frequency of specific scholarship cited in sources which met key word criteria and selecting this cited scholarship for my reading list. Furthermore, I also selected scholarship for both categories which most closely aligned with my initial key word search. At the conclusion of this stage, I continued a further breakdown of the scholarly sources by critically reading each text. Scholarly sources which did not supply relevant commentary related to my research were discarded. Scholarly sources which were frequently cited but did not appear on my initial reading list were subsequently added.

Within the "exploration of the text stage," the task is to "extract the salient, common or significant themes" and "and refine them further into themes that are (i) specific enough to be discrete (nonrepetitive), and (ii) broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments" (Attride-Stirling 6). In this stage, I began the process of determining the themes which exist in this scholarship and reflecting on how these themes could be categorized. This process resulted in numerous possible themes and this list underwent significant revision as more coherent themes emerged in conjunction with stage three, "the integration of the exploration" (Attride-Stirling 6). After moving from the "basic themes" to "organizing themes," my analysis culminated in a series of "global themes [which are] larger, unifying themes that condense the concepts and ideas" (Attride-Stirling 9). To maximize comprehension throughout this review, I use the synonymous term 'notable themes' which become the cornerstones of the following sections.

As with any thematic analysis, there is the potential for oversight within the text selection stage. Thus, it is highly possible that I have unknowingly omitted relevant texts. However, after a close reading of this scholarship, I am confident that I have captured a significant representative sample from which to draw relevant insights.

In the following sections, the key themes and findings from Western European scholarship regarding opposition to IWTs will be highlighted. Upon doing so, key problems and gaps within this literature will be also be addressed. From there, a review of the scholarly literature exploring IWT opposition specific to Ontario will be offered, as well as a summary of the problems and apparent gaps within that field. The intention in these sections is to provide a

thematic and theoretical framework to understand how scholarship has approached the investigation of opposition to IWTs to inform my own research.

2.2 A Brief Background to Western European Scholarship Regarding Opposition to IWTs

Before exploring the notable themes within this research, it is worth noting a general chronology of how this scholarship evolved, as a close reading of these texts has impressed upon me that this evolution has influenced the notable themes within this field.

Research examining the acceptance/opposition phenomena to IWTs commenced in Western European scholarship in the 1980s. During this time, and in response to growing energy demands and concerns, countries such as Denmark and Germany began a significant overhaul of their electricity generation models with the intention of adding renewable energy technologies, most notably IWTs, to their supply grids. To facilitate this integration, governments, developers and scholars alike began the process of defining and exploring the factors which they determined would be strong predictors of public acceptance of this new technology. Initially, social science scholarship focused on exploring the factors which they believed would determine successful implementation. For example, Wolsink (2012), an important scholar within this field, notes that during this time, "one of the first observations…was that social acceptance studies should look at the conditions that determine the effective support that applications of wind power would get all different levels of decision-making" (12220). Yet, by the 1990s, this research lens expanded to include policy, energy, and environmental scholars who focused on "issues such as the lack of support among key stakeholders – including the limited commitment of energy utilities – reluctance among policy makers to dedicate themselves to convincing policies, and the lack of

understanding of the roots of attitudes towards wind power schemes among local residents and local communities" (Wolsink 2012 12220). By the late 1990s, as energy demands and climate change concerns increased, many Western European governments declared the adoption of renewable energy technologies as a key strategy for mitigating the above concerns. For example, in 2003, the European Union announced a target of "23% of electricity from renewable sources by 2010" (Warren et al. 855). Based on the belief that IWTs represent "the most environmentally-benign electricity sources" and that "wind power currently represents the only reasonable economic route to a major increase in renewable energy" (Warren et al. 855), many Western European countries initiated rapid expansion of this technology. Governments also believed that this initiative had wide-scale public support as opinion polls across Western Europe indicated averages of 75% (Krohn; Wolsink 2000; Barry et al.; Bell et al. 2005) of respondents supporting this technology. However, implementation of IWTs was increasingly met with local opposition and governments and developers alike struggled to resolve the apparent conundrum between perceived public support and existent local opposition.

2.3 Notable Themes in Western European Scholarship Regarding Opposition to IWTs

By the early 2000s, in an effort to support renewable energy technology and to inform both governments and developers on how to resolve the conundrum noted above, scholars within this field attempted to determine the factors which predict opposition to industrial wind turbines. Importantly, this attempt highlights the first notable theme which emerges from the literature in that scholarship during this era attempts to produce solution-oriented research directed at governments and developers. For example, Wolsink (2000) notes that "it is one of the most

common mistakes in facility siting to take general support for granted and to expect people to welcome developments they claim to support" (50) and thus encourages governments and developers to factor into their policies the factors which predict opposition in an effort to avoid making 'common mistakes' and thus maximize implementation. The theme of solution-oriented research within the context of determining the factors which predict opposition permeates much of this scholarship. Therefore, for the sake of this review, the Western European scholarship in this field since 2000 has been categorized under the following themes: dispelling the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) myth, and the physical, social, and institutional factors which predict opposition.

2.3 (i) Dispelling the NIMBY Myth

As previously noted, Western European scholarship in this field initially attempted to resolve for both governments and developers the apparent conundrum between what was perceived as high levels of public support yet increasing local opposition to industrial wind turbine (IWT) developments. From the perspective of governments and developers, this conundrum was a barrier to efficiently and effectively implementing IWTs within the strategy of mitigating climate change. Furthermore, governments and developers frequently perceived local opposition as being a by-product of NIMBYism. Therefore, scholars attempted to resolve this problem by first dispelling the NIMBY myth, and in doing so, determine the dominant factors which could accurately predict opposition and produce directives for governments on how to structure policies which could enhance implementation. One of the most influential studies during this period was completed by Wolsink (2000). In his paper entitled, "Wind Power and the NIMBY-

myth: Institutional capacity and the Limited Significance of Public Support," Wolsink concludes that:

> The common sense phrase 'wind power is perfectly fine, but not in my backyard' is a very poor explanation for the opposition against wind power developments…Moreover, the common sense view of NIMBY-ism is damaging to the implementation of wind power. A clear view on the NIMBY concept is needed, because the current use of the concept has large consequences for all parties involved in the siting process. The concept simply does not allow any distinction to be made among the broad range of attitudes. By labelling all protests as NIMBY one misses the multitude of underlying motivations. (57)

To support this conclusion, Wolsink (2000), using data collected in "research around three major wind farms in the Netherlands," asserts that "because the NIMBY position is characterized by the combined preference of the public good and a refusal to contribute to this public good, we can only speak of NIMBY if someone is in favour of wind energy application" (53) but is not in favour of wind energy developments in his/her local community. Based on his analysis, Wolsink (2000) argues that this type of position is exceptionally rare. Furthermore, Wolsink (2000) asserts that "aesthetic value…the perceived impact on scenery, visual intrusion of the landscape" (51) is the most statistically significant predictor of support or opposition regardless if the proposed siting is in a person's 'back yard' or elsewhere. Warren et al. (2005) further dispel the NIMBY myth by pointing out that in conjunction with "landscape aesthetics," the perceived "rapid industrialization of large swathes of wild land" (872) indicates that "opposition to wind farms would appear to be a case of NIABY (not-in-anybody's-back-yard), a blanket rejection of the very concept" (866). Other scholars, such as Bell et al. (2005) and Burningham et al. (2006),

not only recognize the inaccuracies of the NIMBYism label, they offer a rationale for eliminating its use on the grounds that it is a "value judgment that serves to legitimate one protest and undermine another" and "threatens to "exacerbate conflict and misunderstanding between the parties involved" (Burningham et al. 6). Yet, rather than dismissing this term outright, scholars such as van der Horst (2007) urge researchers to "alternatively opt to lend support to efforts to de-stigmatize it," pointing out that there is a "growing trend of opponents who embrace the term in defiance of its negative connotations" (2706).

2.3 (ii) Physical Factors Which Predict Opposition

As previously mentioned in relation to Wolsink (2000) and Warren et al. (2005), scholars dismissed the lay-belief that opposition is a by-product of NIMBYism by detailing how physical factors of IWT are more accurate predictors of opposition, especially in terms of the perceived aesthetics of IWT. Later research such as Johansson & Laike (2007) re-affirms this conclusion by stating that "the most important factor…for reducing public intention to oppose turbines seems to be that the visual characteristics of a group of turbines fit within the landscape" (447). However, Devine-Wright (2005) points out that an aesthetic evaluation of IWT is not entirely conclusive in that "few research studies have examined visual perceptions by systematically comparing how turbines of different colour, shape or size are perceived" (127). Furthermore, Devine-Wright (2005) discusses how opposition can be understood in relation to spatial and temporal factors. For example, in terms of spatial factors, Devine-Wright (2005) observes that "in relation to size, there are consistent results suggesting that smaller wind farms are more positively perceived in comparison with larger-scale developments" (127). In terms of temporal factors, Warrant et al. (2005) advocates that "issues of spatial scale are closely related to

temporal dimension" in that IWT opposition results from a perceived "instantaneous transformation of landscapes" whereas support results from a perception that unmitigated climate change can be argued to pose "a far greater threat to the landscapes than wind turbines" (868). Finally, Devine-Wright (2005) debunks the commonly held belief that opposition decreases in relation to time by concluding that "the results indicate that the general assumption of negative public perceptions improving across time is unsupported by empirical evidence" (131) – a perspective which supports my rationale to study the rhetorical elements of oppositional discourse within the context of Ontario from a longitudinal perspective.

2.3 (iii) Social Factors Which Predict Opposition

After dispelling the NIMBY myth of opposition, mainly by asserting that physical factors, including both spatial and temporal, are the strongest predictors of support/opposition, scholarship attempts to explain opposition through a social factor lens. Essentially, this scholarship attempts to explain the apparent conundrum of apparently high levels of public support despite increasing opposition across Western Europe. Most notably, in an article entitled "The 'Social Gap' in Wind Farm Siting Decisions: Explanations and Policy Responses," Bell et al. (2005) theorize "three possible explanations of the social gap" (461). Their first explanation is that of a "democratic deficit" in which, although "context-dependent," "small, active opposition groups [who] dominate the planning process" have the potential to delay projects but not necessarily "guarantee the failure of a proposed development (463). The second explanation is based on the concept of "qualified support" in which "most of the people who support wind energy do not support it without qualification" and that this category of people skew public opinion polls as such polls "merely ask if people support wind energy in general" (463).

Furthermore, opposition from this category is connected with not only their perception of the physical factors discussed above, but also their personal values in relation to place and identity. For example, the authors contend that if people value a rural existence and perceive such an existence as being intertwined with their identity, they are likely to oppose IWT developments. The third explanation is the "self-interest" explanation which is essentially a validation of the NIMBY hypothesis. Although the authors don't give much credence to this explanation, they do make an interesting observation regarding the possibility that "significant numbers of people 'suffering' from an individual gap cause the social gap" (465) – that is, when multiple individuals in a community oppose an IWT development, there is potential for a scaling-up of opposition from an individual to a social level.

In further supporting social factors as a crucial aspect of understanding IWT opposition, Devine-Wright (2005) encourages researchers to go beyond analysis of the physical factors and consider "social influence processes and social networks…to encompass 'social' distance measures" as these are "likely to prove important in explaining negative wind farm perceptions" (10). To facilitate such research, Wustenhagen et al. (2007) offer a useful framework in which they distinguish "three dimensions of social acceptance, namely soci-political acceptance, community acceptance, and market acceptance" (2684). Within the realm of "socio-political acceptance" (2685), Wustenhagen et al. (2007) theorize that there is a dynamic inter-relationship between the physical aspects of turbines, the policies which govern these physical aspects, and the values the public, key stakeholders, and policy makers place on these aspects. Therefore, the authors argue, this dynamic inter-relationship has a profound impact on shaping either support or opposition (2684). In terms of "community acceptance," the authors consider factors such as "the specific acceptance of siting decisions and renewable energy projects by local stakeholders, particularly

residents and local authorities" (2685). Furthermore, within this category, factors such as proximity, temporality, distributional justice, procedural justice and trust between communities and institutions/developers are all considered to play an integral role in whether projects are accepted or contested (2685). Finally, Wustenhagen et al. (2007) argue that "market acceptance" is an aspect of "social acceptance…or the process of market adoption of innovation" (2685). Within this realm, attention is paid to "green power marketing" as influencing social acceptance on behalf of consumers, as well as the relationships between developers/investors within their own corporation, the "financial procurement systems," the creation of infrastructure, and national/regional-specific policies (2686).

Another key theme discussed within the scholarship exploring social factors is how environmental psychology influences social acceptance/opposition. For example, Devine-Wright (2007) notes how "high levels of place attachment, that is positive emotional bonds between people and valued environments, can serve to motivate both public support and opposition to proposed technology developments, depending upon whether the technology development was evaluated as posing a threat or an opportunity to the locality" (7). Cass & Walker (2009) further examine the concept of 'place attachment' and theorize that "people and place are emotionally tied" and that opponents of developments frequently "respond to negatively constructed place change as a form of identity threat" (63). Furthermore, Cass & Walker (2009) argue that opposition on the grounds of place attachment is connected to communities' perceptions of fairness where "feeling unfairly or unjustly treated …can be a strong emotional dimension to oppositional activism. This can be in terms of both procedural and distributional injustice" (64). Cass & Walker (2009) contend that "we should therefore expect emotion to be part of oppositional activism if not at its very foundation, and we would

argue that it constitutes a fundamentally legitimate part of what it means to respond, resist and oppose" (64). As has been evidenced here, there are a variety of theories within this scholarship which attempt to explain the social factors which predict opposition to IWT.

2.3 (iv) Institutional Factors Which Predict Opposition

As previously noted, a notable theme in the Western European scholarship exploring opposition to IWTs is the provision of solution-oriented research which produces directives to both governments and developers to develop strategies and policies that would mitigate opposition, and in doing so, also mitigate climate change. Within this theme, I have determined that two sub-themes emerge: the call to governments to shape policies which incorporate procedural fairness, and the call to governments to shape appropriate procurement system policies.

In terms of procedural fairness, Krohn (1999) observes that "what matters is involvement of the local population in the siting procedure, transparent planning processes, and a high information level…information and dialogue is the road to acceptance" (959). Wolsink (2000) echoes this sentiment in appealing to institutions that "a collaborative style in siting renewable energy infrastructures as well will probably be more effective than top-down planning" (63). Although advocating for procedural fairness within democratic societies is important, it is equally important to note how scholars such as Warren et al. (2005) are doing so based on an assumption that social acceptance of IWT is something which governments can construct through appropriate policy. For example, Warren et al. (2005) claim that "survey evidence also indicates that people's viewpoints are critically influenced by the nature of the planning and development process: the earlier, more open and participatory the process, the greater likelihood of public support (858). In fact, much of the scholarship makes this assumption, and by doing so it

highlights their overarching motive to produce the means for governments to implement IWT based on the assumption that such implementation will undoubtedly have a positive impact on climate change.

Although there is a branch of scholarship which examines how governments can create appropriate procurement system policies to better suit institutions and developers alike, a smaller branch of scholarship presents the creation of appropriate procurement system policies as a strategy for decreasing localized opposition. For example, Toke et al. (2008) claim that "locally inspired and locally owned projects can help improve the prospects of schemes being given planning consent and, arguably, also improve the general planning environment for wind power" (1140) where local ownership functions as a type of community cooperative. Rygg (2012) also discusses how when "local entrepreneurs or the local administration…made links between wind power development and positive effects on the local community, such as increased income, industrial development, and the possibility of counteracting depopulization" (175), an IWT development is much more likely to be accepted by the community.

The intention in this section was to supply an overview of the notable themes which emerge out of a close reading of the Western European scholarship which explores opposition to IWT developments. To recap, the notable themes in this scholarship include the provision of solution-oriented research by first dispelling the NIMBY myth and the determination of the physical, social, and institutional factors which predict opposition to support governments and developers in creating policies which maximize IWT deployment. Yet, an analysis of this scholarship wouldn't be complete without providing a critical interpretation of the assumptions this

scholarship makes. In doing so, I will highlight the apparent gaps which exist as a result of the limitations in both scope and methodology and discuss how it influences my research.

2.4 Assumptions & Gaps in Western European Scholarship on Opposition to IWTs

One of the assumptions in the Western European IWT scholarship is that public support/opposition towards IWT is static. For example, much scholarship in this field relies on early 2000's survey data which measures public opinion on IWTs and attempts to understand the factors which contribute to acceptance/opposition based on these metrics (Devine-Wright 2005; Ek 2005; Wolsink 2000). Based on this reliance, as observed by McGowan & Sauter (2005), such scholarship assumes that IWT support doesn't change over time or across contexts and that opposition ceases post-construction. Furthermore, this episodic approach fails to account for the complex interplay amongst the claims of public supporters/opponents, governments and developers as IWT siting controversies evolve. Thus, Aitken (2010) advocates that in contemporary IWT scholarship "public opinion should not be presented as something static which can be measured once, but rather as highly flexible, transitory and adaptable" (1835).

These insights have influenced my research. Throughout my analysis, I approach the IWT controversy in Ontario as a discursively dynamic phenomenon in an attempt to understand the rhetorical elements of grassroots opposition. Additionally, this scholarship has prompted me to analyze the discourse of grassroots opposition over an extended period of time in an attempt to theorize the "way in which local people's claims may shift in the course of the dispute and how this process is influenced both by interactions with developers and by the 'solution' proposed by powerful actors" (Burningham 2006 10). In doing so, my research responds to Wustenhagen et

al. (2007) who encourage scholars to perform more "longitudinal research" (2690) in analyzing opposition to IWT.

Another assumption within this scholarship, again based on the reliance of survey data cited above, is that there are high levels of public support for IWTs in spite of frequent local opposition. Even though the veracity of this data is rarely questioned[15], much of this research takes a solution-oriented approach directed at governments and other institutions about how to resolve such opposition. As was previously noted, much of the scholarship from 2000-2005 attempts to dispel the belief of governments and developers that opposition is simply NIMBYism. After illustrating the NIMBY fallacy, scholars often conclude by presenting directives on how to make siting policy more fair, equitable, and transparent as a way of decreasing local opposition. Importantly, this approach indicates that scholars initially saw opposition as something which could and should be overcome through appropriate policy interventions. This isn't to say that fair and equitable procedural processes aren't important; rather, the point is that such scholarship too often approached opposition as being deviant (Aitken 1836), and something which needed to be overcome. This theoretical approach is problematic as it fails to address the inherent complexity of local opposition to IWT. It is important to note that some modern scholarship has amended research in this area by incorporating lenses such as environmental psychology, thus exploring opposition in relation to factors such as place identity and place attachment as well as the role emotion plays in opposition as a way of exploring such complexity (Cass & Walker 2009; Devine-Wright 2007; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010).

[15] Aitken (2010) supports this observation by noting that "there is typically no discussion of important factors such as who commissioned the polls, how and when they were conducted, how the samples were selected, how the questions were delivered or how and by whom the answers were analyzed" (1835).

My research attempts to make further amends in this area by not dismissing grassroots opposition as deviant, but rather approaching it as a complex phenomenon. By acknowledging its complexity, my intention is to expand an understanding of the factors which figure prominently in opposition and to analyze the ways in which they are rhetorically enacted. By shifting the focus from solution-oriented research to a textured description of oppositional discourse, I will demonstrate that an understanding of the rhetorical nuances of opposition is a valuable perspective for all stakeholders involved. On one level, it is an understanding that is valuable for both governments and institutions to determine appropriate policy interventions. On another level, it is an understanding that is valuable for opponents so that they are aware of their potential implications of their rhetoric.

An apparent gap within the existing scholarship is an over-reliance on quantitative methodologies. As noted by Devine-Wright (2005) "there has been an overemphasis upon a single type of research approach: the market research-oriented, case study design using a quantitative survey tool" (135). In response to this, Devine-Wright (2005) encourages researchers to apply an "interdisciplinary approach" (134) and to employ "qualitative methods…to investigate how turbines are symbolically represented across divergent social groups, within and across communities" (135). This perspective validates the application of environmental rhetorical criticism, a distinct qualitative methodology, and justifies my interdisciplinary approach throughout this portion of my literature review in which I am demonstrating how social science and policy analysis scholarship informs my research.

Another gap, not surprising in research dominated by social science and policy analysis, is that there have been very few studies within this field employing textual analysis in examining

opposition to IWT. In the research that does exist, this scholarship principally employs content-based or thematic analysis (Haggett & Toke 2006; Futák-Campbell & Hagget 2011), analytical methodologies which approach oppositional texts and discourse differently than rhetorical analysis. Thus, the absence of a thorough rhetorical criticism of this phenomenon justifies my research.

Furthermore, although the oppositional themes noted above have been observed in Western European contexts, many of these same themes exist within the oppositional discourse towards IWTs in Ontario. Therefore, an environmental rhetorical criticism of this discourse using environmental melodrama as a heuristic will further illuminate how these themes are discursively constructed and thus provide a more nuanced understanding of my selected phenomenon.

For example, I will illustrate how Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO) functions as a "social network" (Devine-Wright 2005 10) and that its use of environmental melodrama scales-up opposition from an individual to a social level in order to increase the "social gap" (Bell et al. 465) by decreasing "community acceptance" (Wustenhagen et al. 2684), especially in its framing of both "justice" and "trust" (Wustenhagen et al. 2685). To do so, I will extend the observation of Cass & Walker (2009) who state that "feeling unfairly or unjustly treated…can be a strong emotional dimension to oppositional activism" and that "we should therefore expect emotion to be part of oppositional activism if not at its very foundation, and we would argue that it constitutes a fundamentally legitimate part of what it means to respond, resist and oppose" (64). By demonstrating that the rhetorical repertoire of environmental melodrama includes emotional appeals relating to 'trust,' 'justice,' and 'fairness,' I will explain how such appeals are

constructed within my selected discourse and support Schwarze's (2006) reasoning for what he sees as "melodrama's ubiquity in environmental controversy" (239).

Finally, I will analyze the intersections and implications between the theory of "qualified support" (Bell et al. 463) and opponents use of environmental melodrama. As mentioned, WCO supports renewable energy in principle but employs environmental melodrama as a response to perceived policy and procedural unfairness. On one level, I will explain why such opposition shouldn't be simply dismissed by institutions. On another level, I will address some of the discursive factors which confuse and contribute to institutional dismissal. In particular, I will clarify the intended audience of WCO's environmental melodrama – IWT opponents as opposed to institutions. Simply put, as a rhetorical form, environmental melodrama is directed towards an internal audience in an attempt to create 'unitary identification' (Schwarze 244). Thus, unintended audiences, often institutions, who do not understand this feature are prone to outright dismissal of opponents who employ this rhetorical form.

2.5 Notable Themes in Ontario Scholarship Regarding Opposition to IWTs

As previously noted, the majority of Western European scholarship regarding opposition to IWT is predicated on two assumptions: that implementation of this technology will mitigate climate change, and that there is widespread public support for such implementation. Due to such predication, it was also observed that a notable theme within much of this scholarship is a focus on solutions – specifically, this research directs governments and institutions on how to resolve the phenomenon of local opposition in order to maximize implementation. Within the scope of scholarship exploring opposition to IWT in Ontario, however, the majority of research is predicated on the belief that the policies which led to implementation of the Green Energy Act

(GEA) in 2009, as well as the policies contained within this legislation resulted in the escalation of local opposition. Furthermore, this scholarship critiques these policies and theorizes that these policies require amending in order to create more holistic and engaged public dialogue regarding siting decisions. Due to this, much of the scholarship within this context attempts to unravel the complex relationship between the legislation and corresponding opposition. Based on a thematic network analysis, it can be thematically typified as problem-focused. From this perspective, such scholarship can be further categorized into two more specific themes: opposition as a by-product of policy problems and opposition as a by-product of problematic media framing – problems which are believed to equally exacerbate local opposition to IWT in Ontario.

2.5 (i) Opposition as a By-Product of Policy Problems

Within this theme, the majority of scholarship, not surprisingly, is encompassed within the field of policy analysis. Yet, it is important to note that this research can be thematically subdivided into policy problems related to procedure and policy problems related to public health. In the following section, both themes will be discussed to show the scope of this research.

In terms of policy problems, scholars repeatedly conclude that the technocratic, top-down policy evident within the GEA related to IWT is a central factor in public opposition. For example, Stokes (2013) notes how the GEA in "reducing the barriers to deployment brought the ire of anti-wind activists, largely in rural communities, who felt their concerns were being circumvented by an expedited process" (499). Wright (2012) also observes how the reduction of such barriers is antithetical to achieving public support in that "a key aspect of community endorsement of wind development projects is the level of participation that they are granted in planning and management processes" and that "a problem arises when proponents and government regulators

differ with communities when it comes to what constitutes adequate public participation" (2). From Wright's (2012) perspective, "participatory mechanisms can increase acceptance for local wind projects, but the primary motivation for increasing participation must not be the removal of opposition" (13). In terms of 'participatory mechanisms,' Mulvihill et al. (2013) discuss the negative implications due to the absence of strategic environmental assessment within existing GEA policies. Due to this, the authors advocate that the application of strategic environmental assessment (SEA) "can help address tensions and conflicts surrounding perceived adverse impact of wind energy projects" and that the "absence of SEA…steps often bypassed in the name of accelerating project implementation, can actually have the result of slowing down or hampering the implementation of policies, plans, programs and projects, and reinforcing, rather than resolving social conflicts around them" (2). To resolve this issue, according to Jami and Walsh (2014), "the involvement of the community in the early stages of developing a wind project should be considered in order to gain the mutual support of stakeholders, raise public awareness about the issues and complexity of balancing stakeholders' requirements/needs/interests, provide information to develop a better understanding of the issue on hand, and identify key local environmental knowledge" (200) – a policy paradigm which many scholars observe as significantly lacking in the rapid deployment of the GEA. As it has been demonstrated here, the theme of opposition as a by-product of policy problems in terms of participatory mechanisms is central to this scholarship.

In fact, Mulvihill et al. (2013) point out that opposition to IWT, pre-GEA, was "of a generic nature, involving many of the same issues that have been observed internationally (e.g. visual impact, potential bird and bat mortality, land use conflicts, public safety and noise concerns, technical viability and cost challenges)" (9). However, with the enactment of the GEA, "the

array of generic issues expanded to include, more explicitly, human health concerns, referred to by opposition groups as "Wind Turbine Syndrome" (10). This perspective underscores a second key theme – opposition as a by-product to policy, notably policy problems related to public health.

Within the realm of public health, a key theme, as discussed by Hill and Knott (2010), is the noise generated by IWT and the corresponding policies which govern acceptable limits. In their article, the authors take as a starting point a 2010 public opinion poll commissioned by the Canadian Wind Energy Association which indicated that "23% of Ontario residents viewed noise as a key drawback of wind energy" (155). Thus, the authors set out to "explore how and why noise became a central issue in wind turbine siting in Ontario" (155). Within this article, the authors make a series of important observations. For example, they supply an interesting chronology of how local opposition to IWT turbines evolved from concerns regarding acceptable noise levels in terms of siting policy to an eventual lack of trust in the government's evidence of the negligible health impacts of IWT. Within this evolution, Hill and Knott (2010) point out that IWT policies prior to the GEA attempted to determine appropriate setback from a point of reception based on measured noise; however, with the enactment of the GEA, such policies became based solely on distance. This decision exacerbated the opposition of local residents, as initially they were not absolutely opposed to IWT developments, but instead had attempted to dialogue with government in order to address noise concerns prior to the GEA. Furthermore, the decision to use distance as opposed to noise in terms of setback was based on the government's belief that there is no correlation, contrary to the WHO's findings, between IWT noise and annoyance – annoyance being a clinical diagnosis resulting in "adverse health effects" (158). Based on the government's unwillingness to adopt a "precautionary principle" (164) regarding

IWT noise and annoyance, the authors describe how this issue became a central factor in local residents dissolution of 'trust' towards the government. Ultimately, as Hill and Knott (2010) observe, in the absence of a thorough risk assessment, "the government became seen not as a neutral arbiter of wind regulation but rather an active proponent" (168) which, in effect, intensified the opposition towards IWT.

Other scholars support the conclusion that the policies governing IWT within the GEA fail to address the potential negative health effects of such developments. For example, Krogh (2011), similar to Hill and Knott (2010) observes that "research demonstrates that IWTs were initially welcomed into communities" (330). However, Krogh (2011), through an analysis of personal communication, surveys, and impact statements, states that as local residents began "experiencing adverse health effects, there was evidence of a feeling of disempowerment…many feel abandoned by the very procedural systems they believed would protect them" (322). From this perspective, Krogh (2011) contends that the existing policies not only contravene public health in terms of "annoyance" (333), but also "social well-being" (322) through a "perceived erosion of local democratic rights and loss of procedural justice" (325). Walker et al. (2015) extend the notion of the negative health potential of IWT in terms of the 'psychosocial stress' in that "a lack of personal control over siting can potentially exacerbate psychosocial stress and that the absence of venues for face-to-face interaction on siting issues may reinforce negative psychosocial outcomes" (364). Finally, Shain (2011) offers further the criticism on how existing IWT policies within the GEA fail to engage with public health concerns by observing that "although IWTs present public health issues, they are not regulated by public health agencies…the very protectors of public health are not even allowed into any kind of official debate about the impact of IWTs" (347).

As was illustrated in the previous section, a notable theme that exists within this scholarship is that opposition to IWT in Ontario is considered to be a by-product of policy problems. Furthermore, within this theme, two sub-themes were highlighted. Firstly, there are numerous procedural flaws within the policies governing IWT development within Ontario. Such flaws include, but are not limited to, a lack of opportunity for public participation, a lack of public engagement, a lack of public awareness, and a lack of comprehensive environmental strategies which could draw upon existing local knowledge. Secondly, IWT policies fail to account for the potential of negative health effects caused by IWT, including annoyance and psychosocial stress. Finally, it has been demonstrated that from the perspective of these scholars, both of these elements have resulted in an increase in both the frequency and intensity of local opposition to IWT within the province.

2.5 (ii) Opposition as a By-Product of Problematic Media Framing

The second main theme that emerges within the scholarship which probes opposition to IWT in Ontario is that opposition is influenced by media. Within this field, content analysis is predominantly employed in the analysis of newspapers to determine factors which affect opposition such as the frequency of "fright factors linked to possible health effects of wind installation" (Deignan et al. 235); "how multiple factors and the interplay thereof shape social responses to WED [wind energy development]" (Songsore & Buzzelli "Wind" 1430); and "the major confounding role played by the GEA in intensifying resistance to WED on the basis of health risk perception" (Songsore & Buzzelli "Social" 293).

For example, in Deignan et al. (2013), the authors use a directed content analysis[16] of national/provincial newspaper articles two years prior to and two years post the GEA examining the frequency of Bennett's (1999) "published typology of fright factors" (235) within these artefacts. Deignan et al. (2013) observe that provincial newspaper articles "on wind turbines and health contained a large number of fright factors, especially 'dread' and 'poorly understood by science', which both increased in frequency after the introduction of a major policy initiative [GEA] and occurred more often in community relative to national/provincial newspapers" (248). Although the authors offer a theoretical explanation for their observation based on "physical proximity," they also point out that "this potential relationship between locality of wind turbines, resident responses and public media discourse is an area for future research" (235). Furthermore, this article offers some interesting theoretical explanations for the apparent change in frequency of fright factors post-GEA in media coverage. For example, the authors note that the increase of 'poorly understood by science' post-GEA "may reflect public dissatisfaction with the level of scientific evidence regarding wind turbines and potential health effects" (247), an explanation which is supported by Hill & Knott's (2010) chronology of oppositional evolution to IWT in Ontario.

In Songsore & Buzzelli (2015), the authors utilize "Luhman's (1989) theory of ecological communication and the socio-political evaluation of energy development (SPEED) framework in a media content analysis of newspapers circulated within Ontario" (1429). The authors attempt to "document and analyze the broad scope of issues motivating public support for and/or resistance to WED in Ontario," determine the frequency and prominence of how these issues

[16] Deignan et al. (2013) define a directed content analysis as being "guided by a structured process in which existing theory [specifically Bennett's (1999) theory of fright factors] is used to identify key concepts or variables as coding categories" (236).

were framed both pre and post-GEA, and thus "understand the role of the GEA in shaping attitudes towards WED in Ontario" (2). Based on their analysis, the authors conclude that "political factors (i.e. the WED process and policies) are playing a major role in hindering social acceptance of wind turbines…in Ontario" in that "political factors are fuelling perceptions of unfairness and in turn, resistance to WED on aesthetic, economic, political, environmental, health and technical grounds" (17) as opposed to "the products of wind energy" (19). Finally, the authors advocate for "the need for increased procedural justice through public engagement in all phases of the WED process and associated decision making" (19), similar to the policy-oriented scholarship previously reviewed.

Finally, in Songsore and Buzzelli (2014), the authors follow-up their previous analysis by using qualitative content analysis to "document and analyze social responses to WED in Ontario based on health risk concerns and other associated factors" (291) through quoted comments by members of the public in a selection of newspaper articles. Employing the risk society framework developed by Beck (1992) and Giddens (1990), Songsore and Buzzelli (2014) theorize "four adaptive reactions…to conceptualize social responses to perceived risks" including "Radical Engagement," "Sustained Optimism," "Pragmatic Acceptance," and "Cynical Pessimism" (286). In terms of "Radical Engagement," the authors observe that "before the GEA, vocal opposition was dominated by arguments for safer guidelines in the siting of wind turbines" such as "increased setbacks based on uncertainties surrounding the health effects of turbines" (288) typified by "letter writing and vocal opposition" (289). However, "after the GEA, individual and community level radical engagement appeared to have intensified in quantity and quality" which was evident in both "extreme distrust" towards the government based on local residents' "perceived lack of rigour in health assessments" (288) typified by

"legal battles, petitions…and threats" (289). In reference to "Sustained Optimism," defined as "maintained faith in science and technology as long term solutions to perceived risk," the authors describe how prior to the GEA, "individuals and communities expressed trust in science by calling for studies on the health effects of wind turbines" (289). After the GEA, the authors observe an increase in the "affirmative demands for studies," an increase in questioning of the government's evidence that IWT pose no health risks, and that "Ontarians were more welcoming of the technology prior to the GEA" (290). Songsore and Buzzelli (2014) conclude that "before the GEA was passed into law, pragmatic acceptance was driven by perceptions that wind energy companies were powerful and undisputable" (290) and that "several factors motivated individuals to coexist with wind turbines despite the recognition that their health could be compromised" (291). Yet, after the GEA, "pragmatic acceptance…was mainly driven by individual attachments to their [residents] environments and natural landscape features" (291). Finally, cynical pessimism, a "response geared towards dampening the emotional impacts of anxieties that result from perceived risks," was "targeted at wind turbine noise and setbacks" prior to the GEA. However, after the GEA, "cynical responses to WED based [sic] health concerns were targeted at the WED planning process and evidence that claimed that turbines were safe" (291). The authors conclude, "these findings together suggest that the GEA is playing a major role in intensifying health risk concerns and consequently, triggering resistance to WED on health grounds" (292), and that the resolution of such conflict can be achieve through "community level engagement in the wind energy planning and development process" (293).

2.6 Gaps & Themes in Existing Ontario Scholarship on Opposition to IWTs

Research specific to Ontario, both in terms of policy and media analysis, can be seen as supplementing Western European scholarship in two key areas. Firstly, IWT scholarship in

Ontario acknowledges how health risk perceptions exacerbate opposition, a theme seemingly absent in Western European scholarship. This is an important addition in that, as demonstrated by Hill & Knott (2010), IWT opposition in Ontario was initiated by an apparent disconnect between government and communities. In this case, the government's decision to use distance as a siting determinant was disconnected from the 'concerned' citizens' perspective that noise should dictate siting since noise can cause annoyance, and annoyance is identified as a health hazard. Such an understanding crucially highlights that local communities first attempted procedural engagement and that opposition was a result of apparent exclusion. Secondly, IWT scholarship in Ontario acknowledges that opposition does not cease post-construction, another observation not given sufficient credence in Western European scholarship. This is evident in the scholarship of Songsore & Buzzelli (2014) who categorize the transition in opposition pre and post-GEA based on adaptive reactions within a "risk society framework" (286). The significance of this observation is that it highlights opposition as existing within a continuum and validates a research perspective which analyzes opposition discourse over time.

As it has been demonstrated, scholarship specific to IWT opposition in Ontario has, in multiple ways, supplied me with a more thorough understanding of the complexity of this phenomenon. Yet, within the scholarship which examines the textual enactment of oppositional discourse, two apparent gaps emerge. Firstly, in the case of Krogh 2011; Baxter et al. 2013; Walker et al. 2015, the text selected for analysis is elicited from surveys and is thus not necessarily representative of opposition to the same degree as examining a "province-wide advocacy organization" (WCO "About Us") such as WCO.

Secondly, within the scholarship which considers how media framing intensifies opposition (Deignan et al. 2013) or how opposition has evolved as represented by the media (Songsore & Buzzelli 2014; Songsore & Buzzelli 2015), the artefacts selected for analysis are media constructs that necessarily frame and mediate the phenomenon of opposition according to the media's own motives and values, rather than analyzing rhetorical actions or texts crafted by opposition groups themselves. In fact, Songsore & Buzzelli (2014) acknowledge that "the emergence of community resistance over time…could be a study in its own right though unfortunately a simple directory does not exist" and thus claim that "evidence must be pieced together from alternative sources" (292), validating a media content analysis methodology. However, as has been demonstrated in my research thus far, there is a significant number and variety of appropriate texts composed by opposition groups available for textual analysis. For example, as of June 2016, the WCO blog contained 319 web pages of posts totaling approximately 1800 posts (WCO "Homepage").

In response to these gaps, an environmental rhetorical criticism of WCO's opposition discourse will produce a more nuanced understanding of the parameters of this controversy and the argumentative strategies, themes, and values evident within this discourse. This approach is supported by Barry et al. (2008) who observe that rhetorical criticism, as opposed to a quantitative analysis of data, offers "a more finely grained or explanatorily thicker description of the various positions and discourses held by protagonists in debates and conflicts about windfarm [sic] and wind energy" (92). Furthermore, I believe that my research will not only further explain and provide concrete evidence of the key themes which scholars identify as being central to this controversy, it will illustrate how such themes are rhetorically enacted.

For example, the scholarship reviewed above offers a valuable understanding of the historical, institutional, technological and social factors which led to an intensification of local opposition to IWT in Ontario. Within this provision, the scholarship thematically highlights that local residents were initially 'concerned,' yet willing to engage in discussions with the government regarding the policies dictating turbine siting. However, with the perceived technocratic, top-down implementation of GEA policies, opponents felt "their concerns were being circumvented by an expedited process" (Stokes 499) and thus intensified their opposition. To develop a more textured study of the intensity and thematic nature of this opposition, a rhetorical analysis of Wind Concerns Ontario's discourse through the lens of environmental melodrama is applicable because this rhetorical strategy, as mentioned earlier, invokes themes of 'dis-trust,' 'injustice,' and 'unfairness.' Furthermore, scholars such as Hill & Knott (2010); Krogh (2011); Walker et al. (2015); and Shain (2011) observe that 'health' and 'safety' are key themes within opposition to IWTs in Ontario; examining how these themes are framed within WCO's rhetorical melodrama contributes to not only a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, but also a deeper understanding of melodrama as a rhetorical strategy in public controversies.

As an additional theme, scholars attempt to explain how the media influenced opposition to IWT in Ontario as well as how the implementation of the GEA influenced opposition as reflected by media outlets within the province. Although this scholarship is media-focused and relies solely on content analysis, there are potential applications to my research. Firstly, the employment of "fright factors" in Deignan et al. (2013) is useful in thematically analyzing oppositional discourse in terms of categorizing and determining particular rhetorical strategies. In addition, there are certainly discursive connections between environmental melodrama and Bennett's (1999) "typology of fright factors" evidenced in factors such as "dread" and "poorly understood

by science" (235). Secondly, Songsore & Buzzelli's (2014) employment of "adaptive reactions" (286) is also useful for my analysis since it not only highlights interesting categories of opposition, but also how opponents transition through the stages from "radical engagement" to "cynical pessimism" (286) and employ language such as "safer guidelines," "extreme distrust," "threats," (288) and "affirmative demands" (290) – terms which reflect the moralizing, polarizing tendencies of environmental melodramatic rhetoric.

2.7 Summary

The selected articles above supply insight about opposition to IWT developments from both an international perspective (primarily Western Europe) and from a perspective specific to Ontario. As demonstrated, these selected articles analyze and discuss how the policies, economics, culture, and media shaped support for and opposition to industrial wind turbine development. Through reviewing these articles, I have demonstrated that the existing research calls for new approaches and methodologies in examining this phenomenon and that applying environmental melodrama as a conceptual framework to perform a rhetorical criticism of WCO's oppositional discourse is warranted to supplement existing research.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology Used in the Selection of Texts for Analysis

In this chapter, I first justify my selection of the Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO) website as my principal textual artefact and overview the dynamics of this website. Secondly, I discuss my rationale for selecting a particular category of texts within the WCO website as these texts will comprise the corpus of my analysis. Finally, I provide an overview of the methodology I used to select these particular texts from WCO's opposition discourse.

3.1 Justification for Analyzing WCO's Website as the Principal Textual Artefact

Undoubtedly, WCO is the most prominent grassroots organization opposed to the installation of industrial wind turbines (IWTs) in Ontario. Currently,[17] WCO is comprised of 48 community groups and self-identifies as "a coalition of individuals and grassroots citizen's groups from across Ontario." It is "a strictly volunteer organization and, save for legal advisors, relies on the dedicated work of members of citizen groups throughout Ontario." As a coalition, WCO functions as a "province-wide advocacy organization whose mission is to protect the health, safety and quality of life of the people of Ontario from industrial wind turbines" ("About Us").

Based on the prominence and breadth of this organization, the fact that it identifies as a grassroots movement, and the fact that they publish a clear and explicit, province-wide mission statement, WCO is the most appropriate organization through which to examine the salient rhetorical elements of oppositional discourse within this controversy. In addition to these

[17] The number of community groups has nearly doubled since 2008 (see Hill & Knott 2010).

factors, WCO also maintains an active online presence, and by doing so, offers a multitude of textual and visual resources which together constitute the most extensive and multifaceted site of Ontario-based oppositional discourse.

3.2 An Overview of the WCO Website

The WCO website, http://www.windconcernsontario.ca/, functions as the primary portal of the organization's communication. As a portal, the website consists of two types of links: static links containing informational resources (indicated by black arrow in visual) and blog posts (indicated by red arrow in visual) in Figure 2:

Figure 2-Examples of Static Links and Blog Posts on WCO Website

3.2 (i) An Explanation of Static Links

Static links appear horizontally atop every page on the WCO website and are infrequently updated or altered. These links function as a resource for community groups by providing the following types of items: website addresses for each group within the coalition; informational

resources related to the perceived negative health effects of industrial wind turbines and information related to existing and upcoming contracts or projects; directives for community groups on how to organize, why they should organize, and how to advocate effectively; directives for municipalities on how and why councils should adopt a "Not a Willing Host" resolution as well as the list of municipalities that have already done so; and a calendar of upcoming hearings, tribunals, appeals, and community opposition events. Although static links are an important communicative component of the WCO website, it is the blog feature of the WCO website that provides evidence of a unique rhetorical strategy – the use of WCO authored headlines, leads, and/or visuals and captions to preface links to externally authored content. Both the uniqueness of this strategy and the complexity evident with these blog posts make it the most appropriate focus for exploring the rhetorical elements of grassroots opposition to IWTs in Ontario. Using melodrama as a conceptual framework, an analysis of this strategy is the focus of this research.

3.2 (ii) An Explanation of Blog Posts

According to Merry (2010), "blogs are an increasingly prominent component of environmental groups' public outreach strategies and offer the potential for groups to expand their appeal among the general public and to deepen their supporters' commitment" (653). Yet, amidst such prominence, "little scholarly research has assessed the uses and broader significance of blogs" (Merry 641). Within this limited scholarship, most comes from media studies and political science and has analyzed the relationship between blogs and mainstream media (see Hass 2005) while focusing on "case studies of a few high-traffic blogs, including such 'A-list' blogs as The Drudge Report, The Daily Kos, Instapundit, and Talking Points Memo" (Merry 642). Since my

focus is on exploring how a grassroots opposition organization uses blog posts as part of its overall melodramatic rhetorical strategy, I hope to expand the scholarly lens on the use of blogs in an environmental context and contribute to a discussion on the use of blogs from a rhetorical criticism perspective. To do so, I start with an overview of how WCO employs the blog function within their website.

Within the WCO website, blog posts appear vertically on the organization's homepage with each link providing a link to its own page within the WCO site. Such posts are updated daily, and it isn't uncommon for multiple posts to be posted each day. The provision of such posts functions as a blog since a blog is defined as being a "webpage that consists of regular or daily posts, arranged in reverse chronological order and archived" (Papacharissi 21).

According to Merry (2010), blogs authored by environmental groups can be classified as political blogs and "serve a range of purposes, including advocacy, education, and dialogue about public policy issues" (642). Blog posts on the WCO website mirror these same purposes; yet, importantly, blog posts within this site generally fall into one of two categories: posts that are authored internally and posts that are authored externally. In terms of internally-authored posts on behalf of WCO, these items range from press releases and letters, to announcements and editorials; whereas, externally-authored posts occur when WCO constructs a link to content that is composed and located externally from the WCO website. This aspect of the WCO blog, according to the general blog categories offered by Herring et al. (2007), functions as a filter blog in that it is "concerned with external events [and] filters…information from other sources on the web [with] focus on narrow subject matter of interest to a select but circumscribed niche" in which the links to "bona fide news are largely derivative" (3).

3.2 (iii) Blog Posts within the WCO Website

As of June 2016, the WCO website contained 319 pages of blog posts dating back to December 2011. In total, there are approximately 1800 total posts within this overall category. To deal with this volume of posts, I devised a general sorting system in an attempt to categorize each type of post.

Based on an initial scan of all 319 pages, I determined that there are four potential categories which encompass all of the blog posts contained within this blog. Firstly, I determined that the majority of these posts could be categorized as "embedded third-party content" posts in which WCO often constructs its own headlines, leads and/or visuals and captions – what I label as "embedded third-party edited". Often, this category of post links to an item housed on a mainstream media website. The determination of these posts was accomplished by comparing how the item appears on the WCO page with how it appears in its original source in terms of the headline, lead, and/or visual and caption. The appearance of any type of difference results in this categorization. Secondly, my initial scan revealed a category of texts which I label as "WCO authored content." These texts are comprised of press releases, letters, and opinion pieces in which authorship can be attributed to the WCO organization. Generally, these texts are designated by WCO as being "WCO Exclusive" and are easily collected by using the "Category" drop down menu housed on the WCO website. The third category I determined is "third-party unedited." These texts most often appear as announcements, updates, commentary, etc. from individual community groups within the WCO coalition. These texts appear 'as is' on both the WCO blog and their original source. Thus, there is no alteration on behalf of WCO. The final category of text is opinion posts authored by Parker Gallant, the vice-president of WCO.

Interestingly, nearly every one of these posts includes the disclaimer that, "The views expressed are those of the author and do not represent Wind Concerns Ontario policy"[18] and for this reason texts with this disclaimer are excluded from my analysis.

After determining the possible categories for each blog post, I began a preliminary text collection process to determine the frequency of each category. Selecting May 31st, 2016 as an arbitrary end date, I thoroughly read each post back to and including December 1st, 2015. Over this period, there were 220 blog posts on the WCO website, and these posts are categorized in Figure 3:

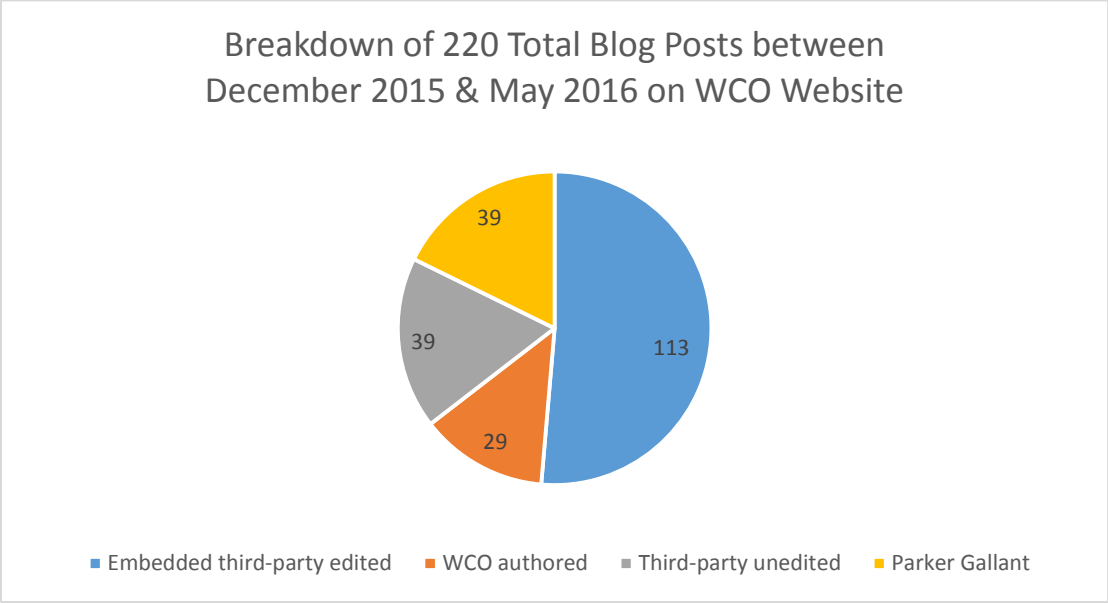

Figure 3-Breakdown of 220 Total Blog Posts between December 2015 & May 2016 on WCO Website

Based on both my thorough reading and the results of my categorization of each of the 220 blog posts, it is undeniable that embedded third-party edited posts are a common category type within

[18] For example, see http://www.windconcernsontario.ca/ontarios-ieso-reporting-data-missing-by-directive/

this blog during this period. In addition, as demonstrated through this exercise and my initial scan of all 319 pages of this blog, the frequency of embedded third-party edited posts makes it a pervasive category within the whole WCO blog corpus. In addition to their pervasiveness, embedded third-party edited posts are a unique contemporary digitized rhetorical strategy that warrants analysis because of its significance within WCO's oppositional discourse.

3.3 Embedded Third-Party Edited Posts as a Unique Rhetorical Strategy in the WCO Blog

According to Lester & Hutchins (2009), within the environmental movement, "environmentalist activist websites are situated as sources of contact, interest and information, seeking to become sources for news journalists in search of content" (583). Thus, the authors contend that the "dominant communications strategy [is to] attract news media coverage" (592). However, from their perspective, modern "environmental groups are using the internet in a way that reaffirms the historical and cultural dominance of print and electronic news media, adapting to the agenda and priorities of journalists, as opposed to forging new models of media power embedded with the specific networking capacity of the internet and web" (580). Lester & Hutchins (2009) contend that environmental activists should "re-evaluate" this strategy "in order to properly leverage the tactical and participatory potential of the internet and web as modes of communication" (592). As it will be demonstrated, WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts in an attempt to achieve such leverage through the provision of their own headline, lead, and/or visual/caption. In addition, such use is a unique rhetorical strategy within digitized environmental advocacy and has not been identified by the existing scholarship within this context.

For example, in "Blogging and Environmental Advocacy: A New Way to Engage the Public?" Merry (2010), through the analysis of 40 national-level environmental organization blogs, identifies "the prevalence of four types of content in [environmental] blog posts" including "news or policy-related information; organizational news; policy position or commentary; and mobilization" (647). Based on her study, Merry (2010) concludes that "the predominant purpose served through environmental group blogs is to provide readers with news or policy-related information. This finding suggests that blogs are not a revolutionary communication medium, given that most groups use their websites to serve the same purpose" (648). In addition, Merry (2010) argues that since "policy position statements are present in…25 percent of posts" it indicates that "to a lesser extent, groups use their blogs to express political views" (648) and that it is only the "frequent updating and extensive use of hyperlinks [that] may, indeed, set blogs apart from traditional websites" (648). However, as I will demonstrate, in the case of the WCO blog, the use of embedded third-party edited posts is a unique rhetorical strategy in that it combines both the provision of "news or policy-related information" (Merry 648) through frequent hyperlinking, and that within such provision, WCO editorializes their "policy position statements [and] political views" (Merry 648).

These characteristics are evident within the WCO blog in that WCO supplies daily links to mainstream online media items related to the negative aspects of industrial wind turbines. This general strategy has been observed by Leccese (2014) who argues that "hypertext links bring web blogs together in a way that demonstrates the priorities and agendas of the website's authors. That is the purpose of hypertext links to direct readers' attention to what the blog writer believes provide credible or important sources of information." He further notes that "embedding

a website with links communicates to the reader that the messages in the text and the messages to be found in the following links are dependent upon one another" (96).

Undoubtedly, WCO uses embedded third-party authored content in its blog posts for the same credibility-oriented reasons noted by Leccese (2014). However, in addition to this strategy, WCO often constructs its own headline, lead and/or visual and caption for each link. In constructing this additional messaging, WCO often provides an editorialized interpretative lens which amplifies how the content of each item further justifies their opposition within this controversy. In this way, embedded third-party edited posts, contrary to typical information-oriented blog links, serve an additional persuasive function. For example, on the WCO blog, an embedded item which was originally published by the Orillia Packet and Times on May 31st, 2016 and entitled "Rural-urban divide wedge issue in Ontario," appears as follows:

Figure 4-Example of WCO Authored Headline in Filter Blog

Notably, WCO's alteration of the original headline amplifies the view that the Liberal government has disrespected rural communities. This is reinforced through the insertion of an unflattering visual of Premier Kathleen Wynne with the caption "You tiny little annoying people" – edits and inclusions which unfavorably represent the Premier. Furthermore, WCO's alteration of the original article emphasizes the "socio-political conflict" feature of environmental melodrama (Schwarze 2006) by pitting the urban government against rural residents; vilifying their opponent by insinuating Wynne has metaphorically 'thumbed her nose' in disrespect of the 'tiny little [rural] people – conduct not becoming of a democratic leader; moralizing the issue by highlighting an apparent inequality; and finally polarizing the audience by leading it to an 'us vs. them' perspective. Overall, this single example effectively illustrates

WCO's strategy of editorializing through their own headline, lead, and/or visual and caption to accompany an embedded, externally authored hypertext link which, as has been demonstrated, is a pervasive strategy within the blog feature of their website. When considered cumulatively, WCO uses this strategy to elevate its credibility by filtering (Herring et al. 3) what it considers to be "credible or important sources" (Leccese 96) of "news or policy-related information" (Merry 648). Furthermore, by editorializing through its own headline, lead, and/or visual and caption to preface externally authored links, in a style consistent with Schwarze's (2006) notion of melodramatic rhetoric, WCO makes explicit the positions, key values, and beliefs promoted by the organization and in doing so, constitutes the parameters of this conflict.

Thus far, I have justified that the exploration of this rhetorical strategy is warranted since it is both unique and hasn't been addressed by the existing scholarly literature within the context of environmental rhetoric or IWT opposition. Furthermore, I have highlighted how this strategy works in concert with WCO's use of melodramatic rhetoric. Seen in this way, on a theoretical level, WCO's use of an embedded third-party edited link transforms an otherwise benign hypertext link into a dynamic rhetorical act by functioning as an editorial interlude to a 'journalistic' text. On a pragmatic level, this strategy maximizes message dissemination which is in line with the concept of a traditional headline. In the following section, I discuss how the scholarship on headlines, specifically editorial headlines, offers useful synergies for further exploring these elements in my research.

3.4 Headline Scholarship & WCO's Use of Embedded Third-Party Edited Blog Posts

Since headlines are used in a variety of media contexts, there are a variety of theories surrounding the purposes and characteristics of headlines as an "exceedingly multifunctional text-type" (Molek-Kozakowska "Towards" 180).[19] Yet, amidst this array of scholarship, it is universally accepted that the "headline is a unit, separate from the news item itself" (Kronrod & Engel, 683) and thus headlines are "intended as autonomous meaningful constructions and are (or should be) designed to be interpreted as such" (Ifantidou 702). This perspective aligns with my intention to explore how WCO uses edited headlines as a distinct discursive unit in linking to externally authored hypertext. Through this strategy, WCO essentially creates a rhetorical hybrid of a blog post and an editorial, and the scholarship on editorial headlines can therefore inform my analysis.

As noted by Bonyadi & Samuel (2012), "newspaper editorials as a kind of opinion texts are different from the other types of news discourse, in that they are supposed to present evaluation and comments about the news events already reported" (2). In terms of their purpose, Bonyadi & Samuel (2011) assert that "their main objective is to influence the readers to accept editorials' intended interpretation of news events" (3). Afzal and Harun (2013) further this characterization by observing that within editorials, "their discourse strategy is argumentative and persuasive which helps…construct ideologies and opinions to represent events especially where sociocultural contexts are involved" (1). In terms of the role that headlines play in this

[19] For example, for headline use in newspapers see Dor (2003), Ifantidou (2009); for headline use in broadcast news see Montgomery (2016); for headline use in click-bait see Blom & Hansen (2015); for headline use in science journalism, see Molek-Kozakowska (2016).

argumentative and persuasive discourse, Bonyadi & Samuel (2012), through an analysis of selected headlines appearing in the *Tehran Times* and *New York Times*, conclude that "headlines not only introduced the topic of the editorials but also presented the subjective attitude of the writers toward the topic aiming at influencing and shaping the readers' understanding of the editorial text" and that such influence was "accomplished through using certain persuasive and rhetorical devices" (8). Specifically, Bonyadi & Samuel (2012) highlight how the use of "parallelism, testimonial, metonymy, antithesis, puns and rhetorical questions" (3), among others, are used frequently in the composition of editorial headlines. Thus, their observations and analysis of the rhetorical features of editorial headlines corroborate my perspective of WCO's embedded third-party edited posts as being explicitly persuasive texts.

Headline scholarship also supports a pragmatic perspective through which to examine WCO's embedded third-party edited posts. According to Bell (1991), headlines are an integral aspect of "news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader" (189). Yet, as noted by Ifantidou (2009), there are different opinions amongst headlines scholars as to the particular textual strategies headlines use to attract readers and the effectiveness of these strategies (699-702). Furthermore, headline scholarship isn't in agreement as to exactly what headlines should attract the reader to. For example, Nir (1993) argues that the purpose of headlines is to "attract the attention of the reader and provoke the reader to read the whole story" (25) as opposed to Dor (2003) who believes that that for the majority of readers, a headline functions as a "relevance-optimizer" (718) and thus "serves as a selection-device for the readers, directing each individual reader to those specific stories" (719) in which the headline renders "the story optimally relevant for the reader" (720). From my perspective, I think Dor's (2003) argument in regards to the function of headlines is compelling as it is supported by his observation that "it is the rather obvious fact that

readers do not always read news items beyond the headline. On the contrary, most readers spend most of their reading time scanning the headlines rather than reading stories" (Dor 718). In an era in which readers have access to a seemingly infinite amount of print and digitized content, Dor's (2003) observation that readers engage with such content primarily by scanning headlines is crucial to understanding not only the purpose of headlines in general, but also for understanding WCO's pragmatic use of headlines within their embedded third-party edited blog posts. For example, WCO's use of edited headlines to amplify an aspect of the embedded content within a link ensures that the maximum number of readers is presented with a particular interpretation of the item which the organization wishes to communicate to its audience. Importantly, WCO's audience is primarily IWT opponents and secondly IWT controversy neutrals, not IWT supporters – an observation which is crucial to understanding their use of environmental melodrama and one which I develop further in my analysis.

Headline scholarship provides a useful synergy to my research and justifies my decision to make embedded third-party edited WCO posts the focus for my analysis in the following ways: firstly, it encourages me to approach the headlines authored by WCO as distinct textual units worthy of rhetorical analysis; secondly, it offers a useful lens through which to establish how WCO's use of headlines aligns with headline use in editorial texts and through this lens, to consider how particular rhetorical devices function within my selected context; finally, headline scholarship enables me to consider how WCO's headlines address the way in which contemporary consumers of information approach such texts as well as how they constitute strategic interpretations of the original articles to support the values and objectives of WCO's oppositional discourse.

3.5 Methodology Used in Selection of Texts for Analysis

The purpose of my research is to respond to the following question: *using environmental melodrama as a conceptual framework, how does Wind Concerns Ontario use embedded third-party edited posts as part of its digitized opposition to industrial wind turbines?* By responding to this question through an exploration of WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts, one of my intentions is to produce research which demonstrates the possibilities and benefits for using environmental melodrama as a conceptual, analytic framework for understanding environmental controversies for both scholars and stakeholders alike. In addition, my intention is to produce research which can benefit scholars who study opposition to IWTs by demonstrating how rhetorical criticism can produce a textured understanding of such opposition. By doing so, my research will address two gaps, as discussed earlier, within this field. Firstly, I will address a gap identified by Barry et al. (2008) who note the absence yet potential benefit of rhetorical criticism within this field. Secondly, I will address a gap identified by scholars such as Burnignham et al. (2006), van der Horst (2007), Devine-Wright & Howes (2010), and Wüstenhagen et al. (2007) who observe that scholarship in this field approaches opposition episodically and considers opposition discourse to be static. Due to this approach, such scholarship fails to address the dynamic nature of such discourse, nor the degree to which discourse evolves over the course of a dispute. Addressing this gap, according to Burningham et al. (2006), would be a "key contribution" (10) to the field. To do so, I follow the directive of Wüstenhagen et al. (2007) who encourage researchers to perform more "longitudinal research" (2690) in analyzing the dynamic nature of opposition to IWT. However, employing a longitudinal approach poses challenges due to the large volume of embedded third-party edited posts on the WCO blog.

As previously mentioned, as of June 2016, the WCO website contained approximately 1800 blog posts dating back to December 2011. Based on my earlier categorization of WCO blog posts, it was shown that from December 2015 to May 2016, over 50% could be categorized as embedded third-party edited posts. This categorization in conjunction with my familiarity of the entire blog corpus leads me to conclude that it is probable that embedded third-party edited posts represent the largest category across the entire corpus. Since my focus is on analyzing WCO's rhetorical strategies within these posts, I used theory-based sampling to find "manifestations of a theoretical construct of interest so as to elaborate and examine the construct" (Patton 183). Furthermore, in an attempt to produce research which addresses oppositional discourse to IWTs as being dynamic and potentially evolving over time, theory-based sampling facilitates such exploration since, according to Patton (1990), this methodology "samples incidents, slices of life, time periods, or people on the basis of their potential manifestation or representation of important theoretical constructs. The sample becomes, by definition, representative of the phenomenon of interest" (177). Through this approach, and using my criteria for the categorization of embedded third-party edited posts discussed above, I selected embedded third-party edited posts from one designated month each year since the inception of the WCO website. Arbitrarily, I selected May as the month from which I constructed my corpus.

In applying this sampling methodology, I examined each link posted in May of each year from 2011 to 2016 on the WCO blog. Based on the criteria established above, I identified posts which represented the embedded third-party edited category. After this identification, I opened the accompanying hyperlink to ensure that the hyperlink was still accessible. If the hyperlink was accessible, I saved both posts and recorded it as one instance within my corpus. In total, 90 embedded third-party edited posts were identified with the following breakdown by year:

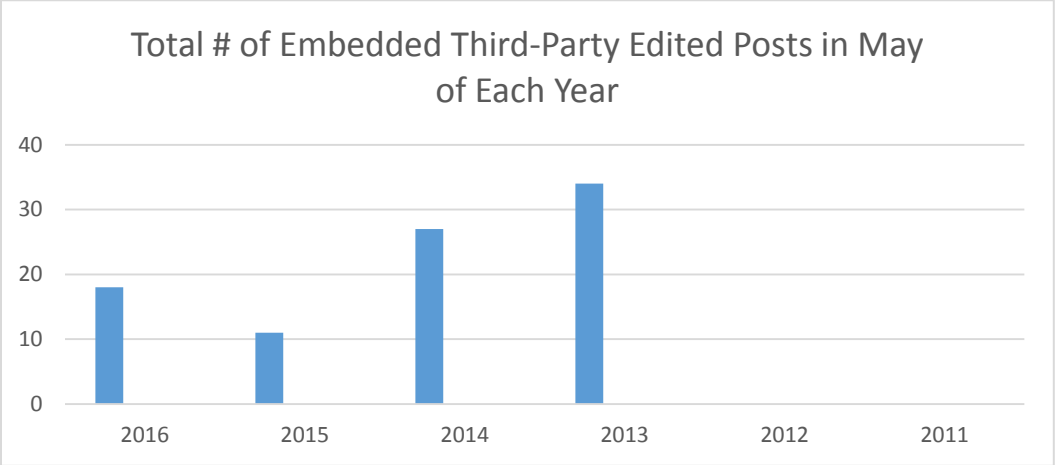

Figure 5-Total # of Embedded Third-Party Edited Posts in May of Each Year

Of note, WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts is non-existent in May 2011 and May, 2012, while May 2013 contains the highest number of posts across the entire spectrum. In my analysis chapter, I address this shift in rhetorical strategy and also offer a theory which explains this discrepancy.

In total, I believe that my corpus is a representative sample of WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts. In the next chapter, I supply my rationale for employing environmental rhetorical criticism to explore my corpus, situate my research within this field, and describe in detail how Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama informs my analysis.

Chapter 4

4. Rhetorical Criticism and Environmental Melodrama

As previously mentioned, the intention of my research is to conduct a rhetorical criticism of Wind Concerns Ontario's (WCO) opposition discourse focusing on its use of embedded third-party edited posts. To do so, I will incorporate an environmental rhetorical lens to explore the discursive strategies employed by WCO in their opposition to industrial wind turbine (IWT) developments in Ontario. This approach is supported by Herndl & Brown (1996) who observe that "rhetoric and its analytic methods can help us understand the nature of environmental debates and their outcomes" (5). To further justify this approach, I will explain how my research is situated within the field of environmental rhetoric as well as discuss the theories within this field that inform my analysis.

Environmental rhetoric is a subfield of environmental communication. Therefore, to clearly outline the theoretical underpinnings of environmental rhetoric, it is useful to first explain how it fits within the field of environmental communication. In the following section, I will overview the field of environmental communication and briefly discuss the theoretical perspectives which inform environmental rhetoric. After doing so, I will introduce the main theoretical lens and rhetorical methodology which I believe will enable me to achieve my research objective.

4.1 Overview of Environmental Communication Scholarship

The field of environmental communication is a multi-faceted and relatively new discipline. According to Hansen and Cox (2015), "the very concept of 'the environment' as well as the

public discourse on the environment" are a "relatively recent phenomena dating back to only the 1960s" (1) while "environmental communication, as a definable area within, and beyond, the communication discipline, emerged in North America, Europe, and elsewhere over the past three decades" (Cox & Depoe 13). As noted by Cox (2010), in North America, "the field grew out of the work of a diverse group of communication scholars, many of whom used the tools of rhetorical criticism to study conflicts over wilderness, forests, farmlands, and endangered species, as well as the rhetoric of environmental groups" (15).

It is generally accepted by scholars that Christine Oravec's (1981) rhetorical analysis of the "sublime" in John Muir's naturalist writings, writings in which Muir advocated for preservation of the Yosemite Valley in the 19th century, is the initial and seminal piece of scholarship in this field (Cox & Depoe 2015; Cox 2007). In the years since, scholarship in this field has grown in both volume and scope to "include the roles of science, media, and industry in responding to threats to human health and safety…while scholars in political science urban planning, sociology, and public health have begun to explore the intersections of the economy, power, and environmental problems" (Cox 2010, 15-16). Currently, the field of environmental communication is marked by "three formative achievements": the creation of the peer-reviewed periodical *Environmental Communication*, numerous post-secondary level textbooks, and the creation of the International Environmental Communication Association (IECA) (Cox & Depoe 2015). These achievements have elevated the status of environmental communication as a discipline while continuing to provide engaging forums in which scholars from a variety of disciplines can research humans' communicative interface with the natural world.

According to Cox (2010), "it is impossible to separate our knowledge about environmental issues from communication itself" (2). Thus, as the field has grown in size and scope, the task of defining environmental communication is challenging. Based on my readings, I think Cox (2010) offers the most complete definition in stating that environmental communication is "the pragmatic and constitutive vehicle for our understanding of the environment as well as our relationships to the natural world; it is the symbolic medium that we use in constructing environmental problems and negotiating society's different responses to them" (20). In terms of "pragmatic," Cox (2010) considers environmental communication to be "instrumental…communication-in-action" (20). In terms of "constitutive," Cox (2010) discusses how the language we use to discuss the environment essentially constitutes our conception of the natural world and environmental issues.[20] He further observes that "although traditional definitions of rhetoric emphasize its pragmatic role, recent definitions have broadened rhetoric's scope by noting its constitutive function" (62).

4.2 Overview of Environmental Rhetorical Criticism

According to Cox (2010), the majority of modern scholarship within the field of environmental communication can be grouped within the following seven areas: "environmental rhetoric and discourse; media and environmental journalism; public participation in environmental decision making; environmental collaboration and conflict resolution; risk communication; representation of nature in popular culture and green marketing" (16-19). In terms of my research, my work can be grouped in the first category: environmental rhetoric and discourse.

[20] For a more thorough explanation of this definition, see Cox (2010).

Just as environmental communication is broad in its scope, the same label can be applied to rhetorical criticism. Generally speaking, "rhetorical criticism…is primarily used to explain how communication functions through the analysis of symbolic acts and artifacts, broadly referred to as 'texts'" (Peeples 39). Furthermore, according to Spoel and Den Hood (2014),

> Rhetorical criticism investigates the situated uses and effects of language (or symbolic action) by particular human agents, in particular times and places, for particular purposes. It is an interpretive method of research not aimed at producing broad generalizations about human communication, but instead concerned with developing context-specific interpretations of the situated complexities of human symbolic action, while suggesting potentially fruitful ways of exploring the complexities of similar—but never identical—communicative situations. (272)

In terms of environmental discourse, Herndl & Brown (1996) offer a theoretical underpinning of the field of environmental rhetorical criticism by arguing that:

> There is no objective environment in the phenomenal world, no environment separate from the words we use to represent it. We can define the environment and how it is affected by our actions only through the language we have developed to talk about these issues. As rhetorical theorists have long argued, what we know, how we know it, and who can speak about it authoritatively are largely determined by our language. (3)

From these perspectives, the epistemological basis for environmental rhetorical criticism rests on the view that our knowledge, attitudes, and actions concerning the external 'natural' world or environment are constituted by the language we use to define it. This constitutive view of environmental communication stresses how language shapes—rather than simply reflects—what

people know, think, feel, and do about the environment (Cox 2010; Herndl & Brown 1996; Spoel and Den Hoed 2014.). As Cox and Depoe (2015) argue, "social/symbolic and environmental processes…are mutually implicated. That is, environmental problems are both materially produced…and are also socially or discursively constructed" (14).

In relation to the more instrumental or pragmatic functions of environmental communication, Cox (2010) observes that, because those engaged in communicating about environmental issues often attempt to "educate, alter, persuade, or mobilize," rhetorical critics "have explored a wide range of such resources – emotional appeals, tropes, narrative accounts, argumentation, and rhetorical genres" (59) within a broad array of both textual and visual symbolic actions in environmental disputes.

4.2 (i) Notable Themes within the Environmental Rhetorical Scholarship

In Herndl & Brown's (1996) "Introduction" to *Green Culture: Environmental Rhetoric in Contemporary America,* the editors note that amidst an increasing scholarly interest in environmental controversies across multiple disciplines, "scholars have produced very few concentrated analyses of the rhetoric of these debates" (18). Thus, one of their objectives in anthologizing the essays within their text is to begin to fill this gap and provide "a scheme for defining the emerging field of rhetorical analysis of environmental discourse" (18). Herndl & Brown (1996) observe how environmental issues, due to the "differences in institutional, disciplinary, and social discourses," can otherwise appear to exist in "intractable complexity" (19). However, such "complexity" can be insightfully interpreted by applying environmental rhetoric's "analytic tools to investigate the language through which environmental issues are constructed and contested." Seen in this way, environmental rhetorical criticism is a valuable

heuristic for understanding environmental controversies, a heuristic that is well-suited for a case-study approach. In the following section, I briefly summarize some of the significant research which employs this approach which has influenced my own research.

In Katz & Miller's (1996) article entitled "The Low-Level Radioactive Waste Siting Controversy in North Carolina: Toward a Rhetorical Model of Risk Communication" the authors present the story "of a low-level radioactive waste facility in North Carolina [as] a classic example of what has become a common occurrence: intense, focused negative public reaction either prevents a decision about the location of a locally unwelcome facility or makes the process so acrimonious that the eventual decision has little legitimacy" (115), a story in which accusations of NIMBYism abound. Katz & Miller (1996) argue that rhetorical criticism can be applied to untangle the complexities of what is otherwise deemed a "NIMBY response" (133), since rhetorical criticism:

> Assumes that the relationships among rhetor, audience, language, situation, history and intentions are complex, themselves situated and historical, rather than discrete, objective, and measurable. It assumes that what is unsaid and what is implied are just as important as the overt "messages" in information transfer and can serve as indications to the values, relationships, attitudes, and historical trajectories of the parties to communication. (132)

Katz & Miller (1996) also argue that since one of the key theoretical tenets of rhetorical theory is ethos (the audience's perceived credibility of the rhetor), rhetorical criticism is well suited to investigate environmental controversies as such controversies often stem from a perceived lack of ethos which instigates a lack of trust on both sides of a debate.

In Ingham (1996), the author argues that "finding a better way to live and to manage environmental issues such as land use rests on language, on the use of language to discover, initiate, persuade, understand, anger, conciliate: on rhetoric" (196). Thus, Ingham (1996) describes how a rhetorical education campaign devised by the Sonoran Institute was effectively employed in the community of Red Lodge, Montana in response to proposed developments that would drastically alter the community. Based on her analysis, Ingham (1996) observes how rhetoric can function to "to increase group identification among community members" (202) – a crucial function since "the danger for the community [facing an environmental dispute] is not lack of consensus on an issue, but divisiveness that prevents any possibility of action" (207).

Cantrill (1996) performs a thematic analysis of interview responses from members of the Beartooth Alliance, "a small community-based organization opposed to a mining project on the threshold of Yellowstone National Park" (166). In doing so, Cantrill (1996) highlights the "themes that unify or fragment the rhetoric and culture" (172) of this grassroots organization. Cantrill's (1996) objective is to "better understand the nature of this grassroots group as well as learn something about the symbolic promise and shortcomings of other environmental campaigns throughout the country" (187), an understanding that is equally directed at rhetorical scholars and environmental activists.

Brown & Herndl (1996) analyze the rhetoric of the John Birch Society, an organization who, in 1992, published a magazine for subscribers denouncing the existence of global warming, questioning the seriousness of ozone depletion, and arguing that the greenhouse effect would have a positive impact on the agricultural industry. Although Brown & Herndl (1996) initially dismiss the veracity of these claims, upon reflection the authors describe how environmentalist

and anti-environmentalist rhetorics are "interdependent" (214). In discussing the specific rhetorical strategies employed by the John Birch Society, Brown & Herndl (1996) observe how the use of "texts approximating the forms and formations" which exist within the dominant discourse (227), indicate the "relationship between their habitus and the cultural market" (232) in which they communicate.

In Spoel & Den Hoed's (2014) "Places and People: Rhetorical Constructions of 'Community' in a Canadian Environmental Risk Assessment," the authors explore how the term "'community' is rhetorically constituted" in the public communicative artifacts of two opposing groups amidst an environmental risk dispute (268). Specifically, the authors argue that one group, through both verbal and visual constructions, positively frames "the community as a *paradise-like* place of natural beauty and bounty, human health and happiness, and economic-industrial greatness" in an effort to deflect "attention from its negative identity as a region suffering from mining contamination" (274-75). Conversely, the authors continue, the other group's verbal and visual discourse constructs the 'community' as a "contaminated place" (275), a construction which the authors argue is "associated with an environmental justice ideology" (269), an ideology which underscores "citizens' rights to live in a nontoxic environment and to participate in decision making that affects their health and the well-being of the local environment" (269).

In Killingsworth and Palmer's (1995) "The Discourse of "Environmentalist Hysteria," the authors describe "the model of hysterical discourse," (3) borrowing from early 20th century psychoanalysis, to probe the rhetorical implications behind the accusations of environmental hysteria, particularly towards the work of eminent environmentalists Rachel Carson, Paul Ehrlich and Lois Gibbs. The authors conclude that the charge of hysteria both towards "the apocalyptic

prophets who warn of the ultimate environmental disaster" (15) and on behalf of these same environmentalists is rhetorically rooted in a polarizing presentation of the subject, one that either creates identification or dis-identification with an audience, depending on the audience's worldview.

Finally, in "From Environmental Campaigns to Advancing the Public Dialog: Environmental Communication for Civic Engagement," Brulle (2010) discusses how rhetorical narratives can, contrary to much existing scholarship, function as an effective rhetorical strategy for engaging and expanding "public dialog" (92) and that critical analysis of rhetorical narratives is a worthwhile endeavor. In the following section, I will address how this insight, as well as the others highlighted, have influenced the theoretical and methodological approaches which apply to my research.

The lens of environmental rhetorical criticism enables me to produce research which will illuminate the complexities of both the IWT controversy and WCO's corresponding oppositional discourse. As was noted through my review of the Western European scholarship which examines IWT opposition, it is inaccurate, as well as counterproductive, to simplify such opposition as merely NIMBYism. However, many people, including the former Premier of Ontario,[21] have and continue to do so. By extending the theory of Katz & Miller (1996) in regards to how environmental rhetorical criticism can untangle the complexities of the "NIMBY response" (133), account for the variety of relationships within a given rhetorical situation (132),

[21] In the following article which appeared in *The Toronto Star* on February 10, 2009, Dalton McGuinty, is quoted as saying that "We're going to find a way through this new legislation to make it perfectly clear that NIMBYism will no longer prevail when it comes to putting up wind turbines, solar panels and biofuel plants" (https://www.thestar.com/news/ontario/2009/02/10/mcguinty_says_he_wont_tolerate_nimbyism_in_green_energy_projects.html).

and address the function of credibility and trust (central issues in environmental disputes), environmental rhetorical criticism enables me to address such complexity and produce a textured description of my selected phenomenon. Furthermore, this scholarship highlights additional factors which contribute to the complexity of environmental controversies. Through the work of Ingham (1996) and Killingsworth & Palmer (1995), my attention is directed towards exploring the ways in which dis-identification between groups functions through rhetorical polarization and, along with the work of Cantrill (1996), how identification can be thematically constructed within a group. Based on Brown & Herndl's (1996) research, I am influenced to consider the role of rhetorical appropriation as a strategy for promoting inter-group identification. Finally, Spoel & Den Hoed's (2014) scholarship leads me to think more deeply about how the verbal and visual discourse of one group "frames and fosters the mainly reactive counter-discourse" (281) of the other group in terms of the construction of counter-rhetorics.

In Brulle (2010), the function of rhetorical narratives, as well as the validity of analyzing this function, echoes Cox's (2010) observation that "environmental sources often rely on different rhetorical genres to influence perceptions of an issue or problem" including the "apocalyptic rhetoric, the jeremiad, and…environmental melodrama" (60) – rhetorical genres which have been analyzed within the context of environmental communication.

With regards to apocalyptic rhetoric, defined by Cox (2010) as a "literary style to warn of impending and severe ecological crises" (61), scholars have analyzed the rhetorical strategies of both environmentalists and corporations who have employed this genre. For example, Peeples et al. (2014) observe that although "apocalyptic rhetoric is consistently associated with environmentalist voices" (2), this rhetorical strategy is also used by "countermovements to

environmentalism" (3) – notably industries who employ "industrial apocalyptic as narratives that constitute the imminent demise of a particular industry or a broader economic system for the purpose of influencing public opinion and public policy" (4). In particular, the authors argue that the US coal industry uses "industrial apocalyptic rhetoric" to promote its "neoliberal ideology" and "relies on a burlesque frame to disrupt the categories of establishment and outsider and to thwart environmental regulation" (4) – the burlesque frame being a rhetorical frame "of rejection in which an advocate ridicules opponents mercilessly" (7).

As another example, Foust and Murphy (2009) conducted a "critical rhetorical analysis of US elite and popular press coverage of global warming" and identified "two variants of the apocalyptic frame…a tragic apocalypse, which constitutes global warming as a matter of cosmic Fate; and a comic apocalypse, which suggests that mistaken humans have a capacity to influence (within limits) the end of the global warming narrative" (152). Based on their analysis, the authors highlight the negative rhetorical implications of tragic apocalyptic framing. Furthermore, they encourage rhetors who seek to "promote political action" (162) in an attempt to mitigate global warming to employ comic apocalyptic framing to construct "identification," to avoid using "ultimatums," and to "promote human agency" (163).

As a final example, Spoel et al. (2008) explore how "two central episodes" from *An Inconvenient Truth* (*AIT*) and *Climate Change Show* (*CCS*) "enact – albeit in quite different ways – an apocalyptic narrative explanation of climate change science" in an "attempt to contribute to the sociodiscursive construction of public expertise and the identity of the scientific citizen in relation to meaningful public engagement in climate change science and policy making" (53). In particular, the authors argue that within both *AIT* and *CCS*, "the communicative power of the

apocalyptic explanations" within these narratives – explanations of "climate change science" which "simultaneously promote technical fluency and stimulate public engagement" – is achieved "to a significant degree from how they incorporate the traditional persuasive appeals of ethos, logos and pathos" (60).

As previously noted, the jeremiad, defined by Cox (2010) as "speech or writing that laments or denounces the behavior of a people or society and warns of further consequences if society does not change its ways" (61), has also been the subject of environmental communication scholarship. For example, Singer (2010) examines Thomas Friedman's (2008) "Code Green" thesis and identifies "a distinctly neoliberal form of ecological jeremiad that re-envisions American progress in terms of a sustainable free market frontier" (136) through Friedman's rhetorical construction of a "simple problem-solution pattern deployed loosely [which] encompasses a mythic cycle of departure, initiation, and return" (139).

Finally, as noted by Cox (2010), environmental melodrama, a term coined by Schwarze (2006), is another genre which has been explored by contemporary environmental communication scholars (60). According to Schwarze (2006), environmental melodrama can be typified as a socially oriented, polarizing, moralizing rhetorical form which attempts to create solidarity within its intended audience (245).[22] Based on these rhetorical characteristics, I believe that environmental melodrama provides an appropriate heuristic for analyzing the particular stylistic and strategic characteristics, possibilities and nuances of WCO's oppositional discourse. Thus, in

[22] My decision to use the term "rhetorical form," as opposed to "rhetorical narrative" (Brulle 2010), "genre" (Cox 2010, Blain 1994, Brooks 1976), and "social narrative" (Heilman 1968; Osborn & Bakke 1998) among other variations, when discussing the rhetorical features of WCO's melodrama is to be consistent with Schwarze's (2006) use in his case-study analysis and to account for the rhetorical complexity of environmental melodrama as a discursively malleable form which, as evidenced in my analysis of WCO's usage, adopts rhetorical features of other types of discourses.

conjunction with the environmental communication scholarship cited above which sees merit in analyzing the function of rhetorical forms, I will employ both this approach and this particular form – environmental melodrama – to explore my selected phenomenon.

4.3 Justification of Environmental Melodrama as a Viable Heuristic for Exploring WCO's Opposition to IWTs

As described in my methodology chapter, a common strategy of WCO's website is the provision of embedded third-party edited blog posts which link to articles published in mainstream online news outlets – articles which are either framed to justify or unequivocally justify opposition to IWTs. Analyzing the rhetorical elements of this strategy can be best achieved by applying Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama – a rhetorical form frequently employed in environmental disputes.

In the next section, my intention is to further explain and justify the use of Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama as a viable heuristic for exploring WCO's oppositional discourse to IWTs. In addition, I will review the scholarly literature which analyzes melodrama noting the critiques of both melodrama as a communicative strategy as well as the scholarly critiques of Schwarze's (2006) theory. After identifying what I consider to be the key theoretical gaps within melodramatic scholarship, I will introduce the additional theoretical lenses which I will apply in my analysis in conjunction with environmental melodrama – lenses which I believe facilitate a comprehensive, textured discussion of my selected phenomenon.

In his article entitled "Environmental Melodrama," Schwarze (2006) theorizes that "melodrama is a recurrent rhetorical form in environmental controversies" (239) as its:

> (U)biquity in environmental controversy stems from its capacity to provide a coherent, synthetic response to several of the persistent rhetorical obstacles facing environmental advocates. It can transform ambiguous and unrecognized environmental conditions into public problems; it can call attention to how distorted notions of the public interest conceal environmental degradation; and, it can overcome public indifference to environmental problems by amplifying their moral and emotional dimensions. (239-40)

To provide evidence of these claims, Schwarze (2006) conducts a case study of public discourse about the health impact of an asbestos mine in Libby, Montana. According to Schwarze (2006), "in Libby, over 200 people have died from asbestos-related diseases and over 1000 people currently reveal evidence of lung abnormalities consistent with exposure to asbestos" (245).

Through his case study, Schwarze (2006) makes a compelling case not only for the rhetorical potential of melodrama within a particular environmental controversy, but also for melodrama's potential to use "political, moral and emotional appeals in order to generate new forms of consubstantiality that could muster opposition of the established order" (254) by "complicating public discourse systematically dominated by producers of that [environmental] degradation" (255).

For example, Schwarze (2006) asserts that environmental melodrama offers a:

> Coherent, synthetic response to several of the persistent rhetorical obstacles facing environmental advocates. It can transform ambiguous and unrecognized environmental conditions into public problems; it can call attention to how distorted notions of the public interest conceal environmental degradation; and, it can overcome public indifference to environmental problems by amplifying their moral and emotional

> dimensions. To the extent that melodrama serves these purposes, it presents itself as an enticing rhetorical strategy for environmental advocates. (239-40)

According to Schwarze (2006), melodrama rhetorically responds to such obstacles through four features: "a focus on socio-political conflict, polarization of characters and positions, a moral framing of public issues, and development of monopathy." He argues that although "other rhetorical forms also may produce these outcomes, in melodrama they work in concert to constitute a coherent perspective on the world" (245).

The first feature of environmental melodrama, its "focus on socio-political conflict," (245), exists when the "fault line of environmentalism between the producers of significant environmental damage and those who suffer its effects" (246) is drawn. Essentially, this feature is evidenced when advocates attempt to disrupt existing "power relationships" (246) between themselves and the institution which is putting the advocates' environment 'at risk'. An example of a rhetorical action which disrupts this relationship by escalating conflict is the utilization of a villain/victim (247) binary. Of the numerous rhetorical effects that can be achieved by this action, Schwarze observes that the "personification of villains" can "provide the motive force for sustaining social critique" (247) – 'motive force' being of foremost challenge to any organization engaged in advocacy.

The second feature of environmental melodrama, according to Schwarze (2006), is that through its polarizing effect, it "can encourage reconsideration of the allegiances and shared substance that might normally lead audiences to accept a certain set of social and political arrangements" (248). Schwarze (2006) theorizes that this feature can be seen as an extension of the "socio-political conflict" (248) feature, but specifically, 'polarization' "can help audiences resist

rhetorical appeals to the public interest that cloak environmentally degrading practices and ultimately serve narrow private interests" (250).

Schwarze's third feature refers to how "the distinctively melodramatic frame typically interprets polarized, socio-political conflicts in moral terms" (250) by framing "conflict not as a mere difference of opinion, but as evidence of fundamental moral clash" (244). Schwarze (2006) observes that within an environmental context, this frame amplifies "injustices" and such amplification occurs as a rhetorical response to when "scientific, technological, and bureaucratic discourses are blocking meaningful participation in public affairs and restricting discussion to technical spheres of controversy" (250) from the perspective of opponents.

The final feature of environmental melodrama which Schwarze (2006) discusses is the concept of "monopathy" (244).[23] For Schwarze (2006), monopathy is the outcome of the polarizing and moralizing feature of melodramatic rhetoric. According to Schwarze (2006), "stark moral oppositions and the location of conflict between rather than within social actors encourage a unitary emotional identification with victors or victims, whether celebrating the former or sympathizing with the latter." As a rhetorical function, monopathy enacts a "motive force for collective action" (244). By doing so, the rhetor creates a "unitary identification" (Schwarze 244) for all opponents, insinuating that through their persistence in the face of implied victimization, they are no longer marginalized in their opposition.

Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama provides a generative heuristic for exploring the oppositional discourse of WCO towards the development of IWTs in Ontario. By applying this lens, my analysis demonstrates how selected artifacts within the WCO blog not

[23] In my Introduction chapter, I elected to label this feature as 'an appeal to solidarity' for the sake of brevity.

only enact these four key features, but how WCO morphs and alters these features to fulfill its specific rhetorical objectives. Additionally, I analyze how such usage functions in relation to kairos,[24] functions as an "integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256), and in doing so, I illuminate a "richer theory of melodrama" (Schwarze 240) – directives offered by Schwarze (2006) for scholars interested in exploring the rhetorical action of melodrama.

To fully understand the underpinnings of Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama, it is important to situate this theory within the scope of contemporary melodramatic scholarship. Therefore, in the following section, I review this scholarship. After doing so, I return to Schwarze's (2006) theory to expand on key aspects, discuss the similarities to and differences from contemporary melodramatic scholarship, and describe how Schwarze's (2006) scholarship has impacted further scholarly work on this topic. From there, I will discuss the apparent gaps and problems within the existing scholarship related to melodramatic theory, how I will address these gaps and problems, and my rationale for using melodrama as a heuristic to explore WCO's opposition to IWTs in Ontario.

4.4 Literature Review of Contemporary Melodramatic Theory

Although Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama is rooted in a contemporary theoretical understanding of melodrama, he argues that "melodrama stands as a relatively neglected but potentially productive category for interpreting the framing of public controversies" (241). From Schwarze's (2006) perspective, "this neglect may be explained by the negative connotations that adhere to popular conceptions of melodrama" (241) as well as a

[24] Schwarze (2006) defines kairos as the "extent" to which "a particular rhetorical intervention operate[s] as a timely and opportune response to contingent circumstances and particular audiences" within a rhetorical situation (257).

"consequence of the Burkean terministic screen that influences rhetorical studies," specifically that "Burke's comic and tragic frames are core concepts in rhetorical criticism" (241). Nonetheless, citing Heilman's (1968) claims that "melodrama is the realm of competition and rivalry" within public disputes, Schwarze (2006) contends that "melodrama would seem to be a useful resource for scholars wishing to understand the dynamics of public controversy" (241).

In an effort to create a theoretical construct of melodrama which could be applied to understanding such 'controversies,' contemporary rhetoricians have often looked outside of rhetorical scholarship, focusing primarily on melodramatic analysis within the field of literary studies. Notably, Peter Brooks' (1976) *The Melodramatic Imagination* has profoundly influenced rhetoricians working in this area. Brooks (1976) defines melodrama as a "mode of conception and expression, as a certain fictional system for making sense of experience, as a semantic field of force, a sense-making system" (xiii). Brooks' (1976) study focuses on "defining and sharpening" (xvi) the concept of melodrama, and in doing so, uses melodrama's historical roots as a starting point. Observing how melodrama is rooted in the fallout of the French Revolution and thus has a revolutionary overtone that continues in modern narratives, Brooks (1976) observes how this genre was originally "written for a public that extended from the lower classes…through all sectors of the middle class, and even embraced members of the aristocracy" (xvi). In this way, Brooks (1976) characterizes melodrama as having a universal audience appeal due to its "radically democratic" (xvi) style which constructs "the emphatic articulation of simple truths and relationships" as it amplifies "the need to recognize and confront evil, to combat and expel it, to purge the social order" (13) – a style which contemporary rhetoricians have acknowledged makes melodrama a valuable heuristic for exploring public controversies (Osborn & Bakke 1998; Schwarze 2006). This notion of melodrama as a social

narrative is also noted by Heilman (1968) who states that "melodrama is the realm of social action, public action, action within the world" (97) since in such action there often exists "a forced unifying of life by a single value – a concentration of good on one side and of evil on the other" (99).

In Blain (1994), we see an extension of Brooke's (1973) characterization of melodrama as a revolutionary discourse. In "Power, War, and Melodrama in the Discourses of Political Movements," Blain (1994) develops a theory of melodramatic discourse as an "interpretative analytic" (808) to explain "the multiple ways discursive practices come into play in [political] movements" (828). In one of these ways, Blain (1994) "elaborates a power/strategy interpretation of what movement actors do with words" noting that discursively, "movements are militaristic campaigns" (805). For example, he (1994) observes the frequency with which military discourse is employed in political movements through the use of terms such as "mobilization, campaign, battle, targets, opponents, attacks, strategy, tactics, objectives, aims, ammo, weapons, etc" (805-06). Through the "polemical" nature of such terms, Blain (1994) argues that "a rhetoric of movement motives must function to differentiate the field of action into heroic, moral protagonists locked into battle with villainous antagonists" (806) and that such a strategy is constituted by rhetorical melodrama.

In contemporary rhetorical scholarship, the first article which investigates the rhetorical functions of melodrama as a social narrative is Osborn and Bakke's (1998) "The Melodramas of Memphis: Contending Narratives During the Sanitation Strike of 1968." In this article, Osborn & Bakke examine the competing narratives of a pivotal racial and labour dispute in American

history, a dispute that occurred in concert with the marches led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as well as his assassination in Memphis, 1968.

Theoretically, Osborn and Bakke (1998) situate melodrama within the "genus of narrative expression," arguing that the events which comprise a melodrama "occur as episodes within some larger scenario that invests them with meaning, importance, and purpose" (221). Therefore, the authors contend, melodrama offers a "mode of vision" (221) for understanding the pervasiveness of this type of narrative in the conflicts and controversies of modern society. For example, Osborn & Bakke (1998) observe that among these constructs, melodramas "represent moral absolutes" in that "melodramatic charactertypes are pure representations of goodness, evil, self-sacrifice, and victimage" (222), and through such binary moral positioning, melodrama "provides easy emotional choices" and "invites our empathic identification" with characters who experience "outrage, sorrow, frustration, anger, and the like" (222). For Osborn & Bakke (1998), through the presentation of moral binaries and the appeal to emotional identification, melodrama supplies an inter-dependent polarization of identities in which "melodramatic heroes and villains require each other…heroes require martyrs to justify their dedication, and villains require victims to prove their villainy" (223). Osborn & Bakke (1998) also observe that melodrama situates its conflicts on a social plane as "melodramatic characters often represent class or group portraits" (223). Based on these characterizations, Osborn & Bakke (1998) argue that "melodrama is the most rhetorical mode of narrative," reaffirming Heilman's (1968) claim that "melodrama is the realm of social action, public action, action within the world" (97).

Osborn and Bakke (1998) apply this lens to theorize how local newspapers in Memphis constructed a "grand narrative of racism" (224) through rhetorical melodrama in their coverage

of the 1968 sanitation strike. From this analysis, Osborn & Bakke's (1998) draw two very interesting conclusions. Firstly, they claim that the melodrama exhibited in the Memphis newspaper's portrayal of the sanitation strike was not only a rhetorical response to the immediate controversy, it was also a rhetorical response meant to create unity through its appeal to the racial and culturally engrained fears held by the white, middle-upper class newspaper audience. Secondly, the authors claim that within this rhetorical situation, "such a dominant melodrama as we have sketched tends to provoke the appearance of a counter-melodrama that denies its presumption," a counter-melodrama which "can serve to crystalize and articulate in unmistakable images the radical awareness that can dawn upon people when their lives are inextricably caught up in controversy" (227). Outside the realm of this specific controversy, this notion of a dominant melodrama spawning a counter-melodrama is a significant observation – not addressed in rhetorical scholarship post Osborn & Bakke (1998) - which makes me more sensitive to the elements of the rhetorical situation which caused grassroots IWT opposition. In addition, this lens prompts me to explore the ways in which WCO's melodramatic rhetoric functions as a counter-melodrama to the discourses espoused by governments and other pro-IWT institutions.

Finally, the authors support using melodrama as a conceptual approach to theorize the ways in which melodrama can "enter, energize, and possibly distort public conflict" (231) since:

> Whenever the narrative impulse assumes an extreme form in which the characters in conflict are depicted as simplistic, rigid, changeless moral absolutes that reinforce the pathos of experience, that represent class or group rather than individual identities, and that serve merely to illustrate positions in conflict, we may suspect the presence of

> melodrama. Identifying and elucidating that presence, tracing especially its ethical outcomes, must become an important task of rhetorical criticism in our time. (231)

Criticisms of Rhetorical Melodrama as a Communicative Strategy

Although many scholars, regardless of their disciplinary affiliations, share the belief that as a theoretical lens, melodrama is a valuable heuristic for exploring public controversies (Heilman 1968; Brooks 1976; Blain 1994; Blain 1991; Osborn & Bakke 1998; McWilliam 2000; Anker 2005), many of these same scholars also caution against the pragmatic use of melodrama for navigating such controversies. For example, Osborn & Bakke (1998) assert that melodramatic rhetoric's main strength is simultaneously its main drawback in that as a communicative strategy "melodrama denies complexity" (222). In one way, this characteristic leads to unity through polarization, but in another way, the 'denial of complexity' amplifies melodrama's tendency to over-simplify controversies. Thus, Osborn & Bakke (1998) observe that "such rhetoric turns us away from and often overpowers abstract considerations such as the underlying causes of situations and the long range consequences of action" (222). Furthermore, it "may divert our attention from underlying conditions that require systemic change" and "may also invite deceptively simple solutions" (230). Finally, Osborn & Bakke (1998) argue that "a vision of the world that expresses itself through moral absolutes, appeals to feelings, simplicity, rigidity, and stereotypes may offer boundless opportunity for error if not inhumanity" (224).

McWilliam (2000), a historian, shares similar concerns towards the employment of melodrama by publics engaged in social controversies. In his article, McWilliam (2000) explores what he terms as the "melodramatic turn" to "interrogate one of the most significant devices in recent cultural history" (58). Although McWilliam (2000) primarily analyzes how historians have

grappled with the complexity of cultural melodramas and the difficulty in defining this type of narrative, both McWilliam (2000) and the historians he cites note that melodrama has the potential to "trivialize" (67) social controversies, and citing Laquer, that such 'trivialization,' as demonstrated in the portrayal of Queen Caroline's "plight," has the potential to reduce a controversy "to the level of a soap opera" (McWilliam 67). Furthermore, McWilliam (2000) cites Crosby who argues that "the key phrase in melodrama is "if only"" and because of this trait melodrama can "inspire resentment about oppression but not provide the audience with the ideological equipment to do anything about it" (68).

Anker (2005), a communications scholar, makes similar criticisms in her article entitled, "Villains, Victims and Heroes: Melodrama, Media and September 11." In this article, Anker (2005) argues that melodrama is a "pervasive cultural mode that structures the presentation of political discourse and national identity in contemporary America" (23) as evidenced in the media coverage of the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Centre. In noting the polarizing, moralizing, simplifying effects of melodramatic rhetoric, Anker (2005) expresses concern that "in the ensuing national discussion [of the September 11th tragedy], designations of right and wrong became depoliticized because they were codified as universal moral truths. Hence, they became unaccountable to public debate" (55). From Anker's (2005) perspective, such codification occurred because of the media's "equating state action with national identity [which] further depoliticized state power by assuming its deployment to be natural and hence incontestable" (36).

Noting these criticisms has been done for three reasons. Firstly, it highlights that in light of the positive potential for using melodrama theory as a viable heuristic for studying public

controversies, as a pragmatic narrative form, it has both potential "strengths and limitations" (McWilliam 58) which must be considered in the analysis of a melodrama in context. Secondly, observing these criticisms in context is important. For example, Osborn & Bakke (1998) research how the Memphis newspaper media in 1968 employed melodrama to create a "grand narrative of racism" (224) and that this melodrama created a counter-melodrama, one which flowed from the pulpits in African American communities across the city (227). McWilliam (2000) observes the 'trivializing' potential of melodrama in controlling the publically perceived "plight" (67) of a Queen, as well as melodrama's ability to suspend publics in ideological stasis since melodrama prohibits the provision of "ideological equipment" (68). Anker (2005) examines how the American national media used melodrama to situate "the United States as a morally powerful victim in a position that required it to transform victimization into heroic retributive action for crisis resolution" (23) and in doing so created public support for military retaliation. The common theme throughout these studies is that each examines the way in which institutions employ melodrama as a way of persuading publics to support the dominant discourse. Thus, their criticisms of melodrama must be tempered by what appears to be an equal criticism of the institutions which employed such rhetoric. Thirdly, noting that such criticisms of melodrama are essentially criticisms of institutional melodrama can be seen as the rhetorical exigence of Schwarze's (2006) theory of melodrama.

4.5 Schwarze (2006) and Environmental Melodrama

Whereas other scholars have examined the institutional application of melodrama and critiqued such application based on melodrama's tendency to 'simplify' (Osborn & Bakke 1998), 'trivialize' (McWilliam 2000), and 'politically polarize' (Anker 2005) social controversies,

Schwarze (2006) argues that a critical focus which dismisses the rhetorical potential of melodrama casts "blanket negative judgements on the form itself, foreclosing the possibility of situated rhetorical assessments" (240). Specifically, Schwarze (2006) advocates for the positive rhetorical potential of melodrama for environmental activists arguing that, contrary to scholarly opinion, "appeals of melodrama can work together to complicate and transform public issues, not just reduce them to simplistic formulations" (240). Before offering evidence in support of this claim, Schwarze (2006) first addresses the "deficiencies" in the way that contemporary rhetorical theory has approached and frequently dismissed melodrama. By doing so, Schwarze hopes to "elevate the status of melodrama to that of comedy and tragedy as a central concept in rhetorical theory" (240).

Based on my interpretation, the first 'deficiency' that Schwarze (2006) asserts is the belief that rhetorical theory dismisses melodrama as a valid and valuable form because of melodrama's ability to create polarization – its purposeful creation of division. Citing "the discipline's embrace of Kenneth Burke," (240) Schwarze (2006) claims that Burke's influence privileges identification over division and by default has relegated melodrama to the margins of rhetorical studies. Schwarze (2006) has a point in raising this claim. In fact, Burke (1969) makes explicit his view that:

> A speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience. So, there is no chance of keeping apart the meanings of persuasion, identification…and communication. (46)

Schwarze (2006) is not alone in his assertion. For example, Jones (2014) observes how Burke "presents division as a negative state fundamental to human existence that requires correction via rhetorical identification. This framing of the identification-division dialectic places primacy on identification as the most generative and rhetorically productive of the two" (148). In response to this 'Burkean' influence, Schwarze (2006) urges "caution about the implicit assumption that division is always or necessarily a problem to be minimized. In some situations, clarifying and enabling division may be beneficial, and melodrama can offer a potentially fitting rhetorical response to those situations" (240).

The second 'deficiency' which Schwarze (2006) raises is an extension of the first. Once again, based on Burke's influence, Schwarze (2006) argues that contemporary rhetorical scholarship advocates for application of the comic frame within social controversies since "social unification is assumed to be the telos of rhetoric, and the comic frame is viewed as unique in its capacity to enable unification in divisive situations" (242). According to Burke (1984), the comic frame, as opposed to the tragic, offers an interpretation of social conflicts in a way that values humanity in that:

> It is neither wholly euphemistic, nor wholly debunking – hence it provides the charitable attitude towards people that is required for purposes of persuasion and co-operation, but at the same time maintains our shrewdness concerning the simplicities of "cashing in." (166)

Carlson (1986) further clarifies the tenets of the comic frame by noting that it "accepts human beings as human and therefore imperfect" and that it "identifies social ills as arising from human error, not evil, and thus uses reason to correct them" (448). In this way, the comic frame can be

seen as preferring unification over division. In response to both this and to what Schwarze (2006) considers as the elevation of the comic frame within contemporary rhetorical scholarship, he offers the following response: "certainly unification can be a desirable goal, but a desire for unification in all situations may be misplaced. Promoting division and drawing sharp moral distinctions can be a fitting response to situations in which identification and consensus have obscured recognition of damaging material conditions and social injustices" (242). For Schwarze (2006), these conditions provide an appropriate context for melodrama. In response to both of these perceived 'deficiencies,' Schwarze (2006) claims that "by displacing unification as the primary telos of rhetoric and resisting decontextualized judgements of frames, we can begin to give melodramatic rhetoric fair critical consideration" (243). Based on this theoretical framework, Schwarze (2006) advocates for the positive rhetorical potential of melodrama for environmental activism by stating that "the use of melodrama by environmental activists in particular is oppositional in a political sense; it critically interrupts dominant modes of argument and appeal that obscure threats to the quality and future of life on the planet" (245).

Yet, Schwarze (2006) also acknowledges the rhetorical limitations of melodrama. The first limitation is in regards to how the existing identification between the audience and those constituting the role of victims impacts melodrama's rhetorical potential. Specifically, Schwarze (2006) observes that "melodrama may find its richest rhetorical possibilities when the initial bonds of identification between victims and audiences are relatively weak." However, "when bonds are strong, melodramatic rhetoric may do little more than reinforce existing identities and perspectives on a controversy" (255). Secondly, in a "relatively advanced stage of conflict," Schwarze (2006) argues that "melodrama appears less likely to be a productive choice when controversies are well-defined, issues have been thoroughly articulated, and a full range of

stakeholders has identified possible means for resolution" (255). That being said, one only needs to do a surface reading of the field of environmental rhetoric to conclude that environmental controversies often result from, or are at least exacerbated by, the failure to adopt appropriate and encompassing participatory mechanisms. In many ways, the application of rhetorical melodrama in environmental disputes signals the failure of such mechanisms – highlighting an inevitable 'next stage' for opposition. Thus, while Schwarze (2006) is correct that rhetorical melodrama is not a "productive choice" (255) in contexts in which participatory mechanisms are positively employed and functioning appropriately, such contexts are exceedingly rare – an observation which reifies Schwarze's (2006) observation of melodrama's "ubiquity in environmental controversy" (239).

Finally, Schwarze (2006) offers the following guidance to rhetorical critics in light of his "initial attempt to theorize melodrama" (256). First, he acknowledges that his theory about the productive rhetorical potential of melodrama is built upon his single case study, and that a blanket deployment of this rhetorical form by environmental activists in other contexts is misguided. Thus, he advocates that "further research by rhetoricians working in other contexts would contribute to enhanced understanding of conditions that are more or less favorable for melodramatic intervention" (256). Second, Schwarze (2006) argues that "treating melodrama as an integrated rhetorical form enhances accurate identification of frames and encourages more careful analysis of frames" (256) and that the theoretical extension of this approach is not only a more nuanced understanding of melodrama as a frame, but also an understanding of how "rhetorical tactics can migrate easily between different frames" (256).[25] For example, Schwarze

[25] Schwarze's (2006) use of "frame" here is synonymous with genre such as the tragic frame or comic frame. As previously noted, my preference to refer to environmental melodrama as "rhetorical form" is to maintain consistency with Schwarze (2006) [although not evidenced here, Schwarze (2006) regularly refers to environmental melodrama

(2006) observes how traditionally, rhetoricians have conceived frames as being comprised of static tactics, such as how "scapegoating" is inherently aligned with the "tragic frame" (256). However, his analysis demonstrates the dynamic nature of such tactics across multiple frames and therefore, "critics must attend to multiple tactics and their interaction in the process of rhetorical analysis" (256). Doing so facilitates a critical understanding of not only melodrama's, but other more traditional frames' "transformative possibilities" (256). Finally, based on the recognition of a particular frame's "transformative possibilities" (256), Schwarze (2006) urges critics to reserve evaluative judgement on the effectiveness of a frame, especially criticism of melodrama as 'simple' and the tragic/comic as 'complex,' and instead "assess how and toward what ends that frame simplifies and complicates in a specific situation" (257). To achieve this critical perception, Schwarze (2006) encourages rhetoricians to critique a frame based on its application in conjunction with the principle of kairos – to ask to "what extent does a particular rhetorical intervention operate as a timely and opportune response to contingent circumstances and particular audiences" (257). Ultimately, according to Schwarze (2006), the critic should analyze a frame on a case-by-case basis (243), reserve evaluative judgement on theoretical tenets of a frame, acknowledge the dynamic nature and transformative potential nature of frames, and offer evaluation only after analysis of the application of a particular frame in a particular context for a particular audience.

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as a "form" (239)] and to account for the rhetorical complexity of environmental melodrama as a discursively malleable form which, as evidenced in my analysis of WCO's usage, adopts rhetorical features of other types of discourses.

4.6 Critiques and Commendations of Schwarze's (2006) Theory of Melodrama

Scholarly criticisms of Schwarze (2006) are primarily related to his working definition of melodrama. For example, in ""Tragedy-lite" or "Melodrama"? In Search of a Standard Generic Tag," Appel (2008) notes Schwarze's (2006) definitional discrepancy between his initial use of melodrama as "factional tragedy" and his subsequent claim that "melodrama is not to be seen as coextensive with tragedy" (179). To address the "hardly…uniform" use of this "generic label" (186) in communication studies, Appel (2008) attempts to resolve what he considers a "taxonomic disorder" (187) of melodrama. In doing so, Appel (2008) analyzes the Burkean tragic frame concluding that this frame is aligned with "crisis" (188) in which there is "mortification, or sacrifice directed inward…intense struggling, straining, striving – intense self-denial…the sacrificial moment [of] scapegoating…[which] prescribe[s] severe punishment, permanent banishment, or death to the enemy" (189). Thus, melodrama, or what Appel (2008) labels "tragedy-lite," can be "construed as the natural mode of typical, heated, political discourse in a freewheeling democracy" (189). Although I think that the inclusion of "political" in this definition has the potential to confuse readers, I believe that Appel (2008) meant "political" in reference to public, as opposed to institutional, discourse. Nonetheless, Appel (2008) further resolves this "taxonomic disorder" (187) and helps the reader further understand how melodrama can be situated within Burke's dramatic frames by offering a series of "generic attributes" (190) of melodrama. These attributes include the "binary polarizations of good and evil," a heroic figure, "but not so god-like," pitted against "villains, but not devils," a pursuit of "categorical defeat of opponents and their policies…expressed in the idiom of moral outrage or offense, often on behalf of innocent victims," and the "triumph of transcendentally virtuous values, materially embodied, not just pragmatically serviceable ones" (191).

My intention in providing these attributes is to highlight how scholars, such as Appel (2008), have responded to Schwarze's (2006) theory of melodrama, and in this particular case have supplied further definitional clarity in relation to the traditional frames within contemporary rhetorical scholarship. Furthermore, illustrating how Appel (2008) contextualizes melodrama as "heated…discourse" helps distinguish modern, public melodrama from its theatrical, revolutionary roots (Brooks 1973), a distinction which evidently has caused confusion (Appel 2008) in contemporary rhetorical theory.

Within the field of environmental rhetoric, Schwarze's (2006) theory of melodrama is met with consistent support. Bsumek (2008) applauds Schwarze's (2006) emphasis on kairos in terms of the directive to consider "the appropriate uses of melodrama or comedy in particular circumstances." Because of this directive, Bsumek (2008) argues that "Schwarze's essay implores us to avoid critical stasis" (qtd. in Kinsella 84), what Bsumek (2008) sees as rhetorical theory relying on the traditional conceptions of Burkean frames. In Walker (2008), Schwarze is commended for the 'transformative' potential that environmental melodrama can bring to studies of environmental conflict and conflict resolution (qtd. in Kinsella 89). Check (2008), even after incorrectly[26] extending the villain character type in melodrama to the status of an "environmental devil" (qtd. in Kinsella 93), acknowledges that "environmental melodrama…has great potential for social critique" (Kinsella 98). Finally, Peterson (1998), in exploring how melodrama can be used as an interpretative frame for exploring climate change rhetoric (qtd. in Kinsella 99), observes that "a melodramatic account may destabilize power configurations used to maintain

[26] Schwarze's (2006) version of a villain never extends to that of a devil. Furthermore, Schwarze (2006) notes that within a melodrama, a villain is "personified" (247) and thus would not exist as a biblical archetype. Furthermore, in Appel's (2008) taxonomy, a devil would be categorized within the realm of tragedy, or if presented hyperbolically, within the burlesque.

current policy" (qtd. in Kinsella 100) and that "perhaps environmental melodrama will enable us to both imagine and galvanize the global community that must act to mitigate climate change" (qtd. in Kinsella 101). As it has been demonstrated here, Schwarze (2006) supplies a solid theoretical basis for exploring environmental controversies through the lens of melodrama.

4.7 Gaps or Problems within Melodramatic Theory

Existing rhetorical scholarship rarely distinguishes that within a functioning social melodrama there at least two sets of rhetors and two corresponding audiences. Thus, critics of melodrama, as Schwarze (2006) vaguely addresses, dismiss this form due to its polarizing nature (240) assuming that, based on Burke's (1969) claim that "there is no chance of keeping apart the meanings of persuasion, identification…and communication" (46), the purpose of persuasion is to achieve identification.[27] Even though Schwarze (2006) contends that one of melodrama's positive potential rhetorical features is that of "enabling division" (240), he does not make explicit that such division occurs *between* audiences, not *amidst* audiences. Furthermore, even though Osborn & Bakke (1998) observe how two melodramas can simultaneously occur in a public controversy in the form of a melodrama/counter-melodrama (227), they do not fully acknowledge that one of the rhetorical purposes behind a rhetor's attempt to create identification with one audience is to create division from the other simultaneous audience. To address this gap, in my analysis, I will explore the variety of polarization tactics employed by WCO to illustrate how the rhetorical strategy of fostering identification in one audience simultaneously

[27] Importantly, this is Schwarze's (2006) interpretation of Burke's discussion of identification and division in *A Rhetoric of Motives*. However, in "The Rhetorical Situation," Burke discusses the coexistence of identification and division, what he deems "congregation by segregation," observing that "partisanship…comes so natural to rhetoric" and uses the analogy of a presidential campaign in "which contestants stress their divisiveness" to create identification with the electorate (264).

creates dis-identification from another audience. Through such analysis, I will contribute to the existing scholarship by illustrating how WCO uses environmental melodrama to construct inter-audience identification while dissociating itself from the institutional discourses which promote IWT developments.

A second gap which is apparent in the scholarly literature exploring environmental melodrama is that aside from Schwarze's (2006) application of this conceptual framework to analyze the discursive response to the asbestos controversy in Libby, Montana, to my knowledge no other environmental controversies have been researched using this theoretical approach, let alone opposition to industrial wind turbines. Thus, an analysis of WCO's rhetorical strategy of melodrama will enable me to contribute to environmental rhetorical scholarship, as well as scholarship exploring opposition within this specific context.

A third gap in the scholarship which examines melodrama within social controversies is that little attention has been paid to the particular argumentative and stylistic techniques within public melodramas. For example, McWilliam (2000) observes that "there is very little work that concentrates on the specifics of melodramatic form" (71) and Bsumek urges rhetorical scholars to "find additional aspects of melodrama" (qtd. in Kinsella 84). In terms of the stylistic techniques within melodrama, Osborn & Bakke (1998) state that:

> An interesting sidelight of this study is that it confirmed the close relationship between melodrama and metaphor, explained by Brooks as follows: 'To the melodramatic imagination, significant things and features are necessarily metaphoric in nature because they must refer to and speak of something else' (10). Other significant figures in melodrama, Brooks argues, are hyperbole, antithesis, and oxymoron (40). (233)

However, the authors offer this observation in passing with no further analysis of these figures in practice. Furthermore, where authors such as Brooks (1973) discuss the stylistic characteristics of melodrama, such as tropes, he does so by exploring theatrical melodramas as opposed to public melodramas. Blain (1994), as discussed, offers one of the most useful overviews of melodramatic language by noting the prevalence of militaristic jargon in melodramatic political movements. Though my analysis, I will build on this work by contributing additional evidence of the stylistic techniques employed in environmental melodrama.

In addition, in "Environmental Melodrama," Schwarze's (2006) primary focus is to justify environmental melodrama as a valid rhetorical form for environmental activists. He does so by claiming that environmental melodrama can create a "fault line" (246) between advocates and opponents in a controversy; that environmental melodrama polarizes audiences (248); that environmental melodrama can remoralize controversy (250); that environmental melodrama can create "monopathy" (251); that environmental melodrama can function as constitutive rhetoric (252) and that these are worthwhile objectives in an environmental advocacy campaign. Since Schwarze's (2006) purpose is to provide theoretical support for this frame, it is understandable that his focus is on demonstrating, through a case study, that environmental melodrama 'can' achieve these rhetorically relevant objectives. With his focus on what melodrama 'can do,' Schwarze (2006) not only leaves room for further research to consider 'how' particular rhetorical tactics and stylistic techniques are used to achieve these objectives, he encourages scholars to contribute to a "richer theory of melodrama" (240).

To analyze the stylistic techniques of melodrama, I will draw on Fahnestock's *Rhetorical Style: The Uses of Language in Persuasion* which:

> (O)ffers methods of language analysis derived from the rhetorical tradition. It uses the descriptive categories standard in rhetorical treatments of style involving still familiar matters of word choice and sentence construction, since rhetoric's attention to style also identifies structures below the sentence level, as well as multisentence structures that emerge across passages, the most neglected level of analysis. (8)

Through this type of analysis, I will illuminate the discursive features of my selected phenomenon as well as highlight the particular stylistic and strategic characteristics of WCO's embedded third-party edited posts within the form of environmental melodrama. Such analysis will also contribute to a stylistic taxonomy of melodrama and complicate a conventional understanding of rhetorical melodrama by demonstrating that melodrama isn't a simple, sensationalized, hyperbolized emotional form but rather one which is complex and discursively malleable.

Schwarze (2006) also directs scholars who are embarking on a study of environmental melodrama to contribute to an understanding of environmental melodrama in relation to kairos (Schwarze 257) – especially, the "conditions that are more or less favorable for melodramatic intervention" (256). By examining how WCO effectively appropriates journalistic conventions as part of its digitized melodramatic rhetorical strategy, my analysis will explore this relationship in depth and provide insight to how environmental melodrama functions in an online environment

Finally, Schwarze (2006) directs scholars to treat "melodrama as an integrated rhetorical form" as such treatment "enhances accurate identification of [melodrama's] frames and encourages more careful analysis of [its] frames" (256). In response to this directive, my analysis

investigates the particular appeals which WCO employs to make explicit the positions, key values, and beliefs promoted by the organization. Through such treatment, I am able to delineate the themes which constitute the parameters of this conflict as well as describe how such themes constitute the identities of both WCO and its implied audience – both IWT opponents and neutrals as opposed to supporters. In addition, my analysis offers insights on how WCO appropriates the scientific and technical discursive frames typical of technocratic discourse in its creation of a counter-rhetoric to the institutionalized discourses which promote IWT developments in Ontario.

Furthermore, my analysis will expand existing theories of environmental melodrama by showing how the rhetorical technique of "differentiation humour" (Meyer, 2000), including satire and irony, plays a key role in WCO's melodramatic oppositional discourse. In "Humor as a Double-Edged Sword: Four Functions of Humor in Communication," Meyer (2000) describes how "communicators use differentiation quite often, contrasting themselves with their opponents, their views with an opponent's views, their own social group with others" and that "comic ridicule can also maintain identification and political unity among members of one group while stressing contradictions and differences they have with others" (321-22). As I will argue, this technique helps WCO to achieve the particular rhetorical functions of melodrama as noted by Schwarze (2006). In particular, it functions to foster 'identification through polarizing division' and it helps to maintain the energy of the movement over time through comedic ridicule of its opponents. Both the appropriation of technocratic discursive tendencies and the use of humour are typically considered to be outside of the realm of melodrama. Thus, my analysis provides a novel contribution to the theoretical understanding of environmental melodrama in these areas.

Chapter 5

5. A Rhetorical Analysis of WCO's Use of Embedded Third-party Edited Posts as a Rhetorical Response to the Development of IWTs in Ontario

As discussed in my methodology chapter, in exploring WCO's oppositional discourse, I have identified a particular, prominent rhetorical strategy – the use of embedded third-party edited blog posts – which, due to their rhetorical complexity and uniqueness as a digitized rhetorical strategy, warrant careful examination. Based on the justifications provided in my methodology chapter with regards to this strategy, the overarching purpose behind my analysis is to respond to the following research question: *using environmental melodrama as a conceptual framework, how does Wind Concerns Ontario use embedded third-party edited posts as part of its digitized opposition to industrial wind turbines?*

Providing a response to this question will accomplish three objectives. Firstly, I will demonstrate how environmental melodrama is a viable heuristic for exploring Wind Concerns Ontario's (WCO) strategic use of embedded third-party edited posts. Secondly, by using environmental melodrama to explore this particular strategy, I will illuminate the prominent rhetorical elements within this unique environmental controversy, and by doing so, offer a textured understanding of this phenomenon. Finally, through an exploration of the rhetorical dynamics enacted within this oppositional discourse, I will explicate an understanding of melodramatic conventions – an understanding which I hope will contribute to the scholarly discussions on melodrama, as well as supply insights to both stakeholders within this controversy

and to anyone who is using, or is considering using, melodrama as a rhetorical response to a social conflict.

To accomplish these objectives, I will conduct a rhetorical analysis of WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts for each May from 2011 – 2016. To begin, I will analyze how environmental melodrama functions within my corpus in an effort to contribute to an understanding of environmental melodrama in relation to kairos (Schwarze 257). In particular, in Part One, I will explore the nuances of how WCO utilizes a contemporary digitized rhetorical strategy to enact its oppositional discourse.

After doing so, in Part Two, I will identify, as per Schwarze (2006), the four features of environmental melodrama and analyze the particular rhetorical tactics WCO uses in its embedded third-party edited posts to fulfill each feature. This analysis will demonstrate how my corpus enacts the primary stylistic characteristics and rhetorical functions of environmental melodrama, as discussed by Schwarze (2006). By doing so, I intend to contribute to a "richer theory of melodrama" (240). Additionally, by analyzing how WCO appropriates the 'scientific' and 'technical' discursive tendencies typical of technocratic discourse as well as how it uses "differentiation humour" (J. Meyer 321) within my corpus, I will contribute to an understanding of the ways in which WCO's use of environmental melodrama functions as an "integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256). By analyzing the features highlighted above, I intend to produce a textured understanding of this phenomenon – an understanding which will be of benefit to scholars, stakeholders, and the general public.

5.1 Part One: WCO's Use of Embedded Third-Party Edited Headlines and Leads as a Kairotic Response to Digitized Rhetoric

In the conclusion of "Environmental Melodrama", Schwarze (2006) asserts that "further research by rhetoricians working in other contexts would contribute to enhanced understanding of conditions that are more or less favorable for melodramatic intervention" (256). Based on my interpretation, this kairotic-oriented directive produces two potential paths for rhetorical melodrama scholars. With regards to the first, scholars could take an evaluative approach in which they critique the effectiveness of melodrama within in a particular context. In the second, scholars could reserve evaluative judgement and conduct a more descriptive analysis of the ways in which melodrama functions within a particular context. Although both paths have equal merit, the former approach is most applicable to contexts in which the rhetorical situation has concluded, while the later helps scholars to consider the functions of melodrama in persistent, unresolved rhetorical situations.

In contrast to Schwarze's (2006) case-study of the asbestos controversy in Libby in which there existed conclusive, corroborated evidence of corporate cover-up and a host of other nefarious acts, my selected phenomenon, as I have mentioned elsewhere, can be considered as a persistent rhetorical situation. Opposition to IWT still persists, and WCO's blog continues to be an active source of discursive protest, even though the Ontario Liberal government altered their original consultative mechanisms in 2012 in order to give local communities the opportunity for increased input (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing), announced in September of 2016 that they are eliminating $3.8 billion in renewable energy projects (*The Toronto Star* "Ontario Government Scraps"), and announced a debt restructuring schedule in March 2017 to

offset the impact of increased hydro costs, including renewable energy subsidies, on customers' bills (A. Jones). Furthermore, part of what makes this controversy persistent is the seeming lack of conclusive evidence on both sides of the IWT debate.

Thus, within this context, it would be premature to try to critically assess the effectiveness of WCO's melodramatic rhetoric. Instead, the majority of my analysis explores the rhetorical strategies which WCO employs in the creation of its melodramatic discourse in an attempt to identify its prominent rhetorical elements for addressing the ongoing context of IWT controversy in Ontario. Through this approach, my intention is to illuminate how melodrama strategically functions within WCO's oppositional discourse in response to the IWT controversy. Nonetheless, through my research, one area has emerged in which critical judgment can offer insightful analysis regarding the intersection of melodramatic rhetoric and IWT opposition discourse in relation to kairos: this is the matter of how WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts as a participatory journalistic convention.

As noted earlier, WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts is a unique rhetorical strategy within digitized environmental activism in that it combines the provision of "news or policy-related information" hyperlinks (Merry 648), typical of blogs in this context, with an editorialized slant in the form of a headline or lead intended to shape the audience's interpretation of each link for a particular rhetorical effect. In this section, my intention is to address how WCO effectively employs this strategy within the context of "digital ecology" (Grant et al. 5).

As noted by Poell (2014), "hyperlink analysis can provide a window on the organizational ecology in which online communication takes place" (717). This observation is furthered by

Grant et al. (2015) who define "digital ecology" as the "discursive connections created and propagated by a website" and assert that this lens "addresses the fact that the quality of information alone is insufficient to persuade someone. Rather, persuasion is effected by the information, where it is found online, how the user interacts with that information, how that information interacts with other information, and the community surrounding it" (5). From my perspective, this macro approach to digitized persuasion enables me to investigate the rhetorical aspects of WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts. To explore these rhetorical dimensions, my analysis focuses on how such posts function as a kairotic extension of participatory journalism.

Participatory journalism is a contemporary communicative phenomenon. For example, Hermida (2010) observes that "professional journalists now share jurisdiction over the news in the sense that citizens are participating in the observation, selection, filtering, distribution and interpretation of events" (2). This collective dominion of news distribution is a by-product of digital technology, and "the proliferation of news on digital platforms has intensified the presence of ambient news" (Hermida 2). Through such immediacy, "ambient news" produces messages which "form social streams of connected data that provide value both individually and in aggregate" (Hermida 2). Undoubtedly, WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts within its filter blog can be considered an example of participatory journalism. Rhetorically, and both individually and cumulatively, this category of link utilizes the 'journalistic' convention of headlines and leads in two distinct ways: firstly, through a re-appropriation of the journalistic genre, WCO's use of headlines and leads helps portray WCO as an expert within this controversy which elevates the perception of its credibility; secondly, the utilization of this convention not only maximizes the relevance of each individual link, but collectively, it

constitutes the parameters of this controversy for the audience of this blog. In the following section, we will examine both of these strategies focusing specifically on how they function as a situationally strategic response to the digitized environment in which WCO enacts their opposition.

As previously mentioned, the IWT controversy in Ontario is seemingly fueled by an apparent lack of conclusive evidence on both sides of this debate regarding the myriad potential positive/negative effects of this technology – whether it be in relation to health and/or environmental effects, electricity generation potential, electrical grid compatibility, and subsidy expense, just to name a few. Furthermore, from the perspective of opponents, insufficient research on these effects has been conducted by the government. Additionally, when opponents present research which they believe suggests a negative correlation, they also believe that the influence of the industrial wind turbine industry biases the government against 'fair' consideration of such findings. Importantly, my research doesn't attempt to address the veracity of the claims on either side of this debate. Instead, my focus is on exploring WCO's discursive response to this controversy, such as the types of responses highlighted above, to both illuminate the prominent rhetorical elements within this unique environmental controversy as well as to explore the rhetorical function of melodrama within this situated context.

From this perspective, one of WCO's key rhetorical responses intended to counter this inconclusiveness is to portray itself as having expert status within its oppositional discourse to IWT in Ontario. Although I analyze the particular melodramatic tactics WCO employs to rhetorically enact this struggle later in my analysis, this portrayal also figures prominently in WCO's kairotic response to digitized rhetoric – specifically its use of participatory journalism.

Contrary to a reliance on hyperbolic emotional appeals typical of melodrama (Anker 23-4), WCO tempers an overreliance on such appeals by appealing to expertise through the use of journalistic conventions. This distinctive integration of rhetorical forms unfamiliar within existing discussions of melodrama is most evident in WCO's strategic re-appropriation of headlines and leads – discursive characteristics common to the genre of journalism.

Although the public's current perception of journalistic credibility has been hampered by the digitized proliferation of 'fake news', I think it is accurate to argue that typical discursive journalistic conventions still hold an implied cultural value of credibility, and it is apparent that WCO shares this assumption. Their re-appropriation of the headline and lead conventions in their embedded third-party edited posts supports this assertion. Through this rhetorical re-appropriation, WCO portrays itself as an expert, credible source of IWT journalism. Furthermore, through the provision of its own headlines and leads which often function to elucidate and recontextualize/re-interpret the linked items, WCO exhibits a high level of contextual competency and fluency within this controversy, and the portrayal of such expertise undoubtedly enhances their credibility from the perspective of their audience.

In addition to the use of headlines which signal 'journalistic competence,' WCO's use of hyperlinks augments the perception of its credibility. As noted by Grant et al. (2015), hyperlinking achieves a "myriad of rhetorical purposes, including demonstrating affinity, offering additional information, or leveraging another website's credibility" (5). My corpus offers evidence of hyperlink use which achieves each of these purposes. Yet, in the context of credibility, WCO not only frequently hyperlinks to mainstream media websites, it often explicitly indicates the destination of the hyperlink in its authored headline which further

elevates its own organizational ethos. Although I address this rhetorical tactic in detail when discussing how it virtuously personifies IWT opponents, the following will serve as an example. In a blog link posted on May 2nd, 2013, WCO presents an embedded third-party edited link to an article entitled "Terence Corcoran: Ontario Liberals' last power trip" (Corcoran) with the following WCO authored headline: "Financial Post Tackles Ontario's Energy Policy" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Financial Post Tackles"). Not only does WCO rhetorically benefit by associating itself with the *Financial Post*, especially when this linked item criticizes the financial impact of the government's green energy policies, WCO leverages the credibility of the *Financial Post* and in doing so, portrays itself as an equally informative, insightful, credible, and thus trustworthy source of information. As an organization who "is committed to informing the people of Ontario as to the many concerns surrounding industrial wind power" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us") and as a grassroots organization imbricated in a conflict with the government, the establishment of credibility is a crucial rhetorical objective for WCO in its self-proclaimed role as the central "voice of opposition" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Join & Donate"). In conjunction with the portrayal of expertise, WCO's use of participatory journalism conventions helps to shape its audience's interpretation of embedded third-party edited posts. The particular interpretative-shaping strategies employed by WCO will be discussed in detail below.

As previously noted, one of the gaps which I hoped to address in my research was that current scholarship which examines IWT opposition does so episodically and thus fails to account for the ways in which opposition evolves over the course of a dispute. From this perspective, such scholarship contends that opposition is static. By embarking on a study in which I explored opposition in a particular month over the course of four years, my intention was to conduct

longitudinal research which would address this gap. Based on my research, I am able to identify a significant change evidenced within my corpus – the transition from the use of single headlines linking multiple embedded items to the use of individual headlines linking individually embedded items. For example, on May 26, 2013, WCO posted a blog link under the headline: "More councils declare jurisdictions 'Not a willing host' for turbines" (Wind Concerns Ontario "More Councils Declare ") and hyperlinked to four different mainstream media outlet items. Although this 'collective' embedded third-party edited posting shouldn't be considered as the standard format in the early stages of the WCO blog, it appears often enough to be noticeable. However, by May 2014, this strategy has been eliminated from the discourse as 'single' embedded third-party edited posts become the norm. Whether this strategic change reflects a reification of the conflict and/or an increase in the number of volunteers who could compose additional link-specific headlines cannot be determined. Nonetheless, this discursive transformation signals an amplification of the use of headlines and leads for melodramatic effect as individually linked items supply WCO a format in which they can maximize the relevance of each item for their audience, provide a particular polarized interpretative lens for each link, and cumulatively, constitute the parameters of this controversy. Furthermore, this observation supports an understanding of IWT oppositional discourse as being dynamic, as opposed to static, in that it doesn't cease post-construction and is discursively "flexible, transitory and adaptable" (Aitken 1835). Each of these strategies will be discussed in the following section.

The WCO blog is an active website. In fact, it isn't uncommon for at least one link to be posted each day, and often more than one link is posted daily. This frequent discursive provision potentially poses a challenge for its audience. Particularly, the audience of this blog is required to navigate a large number of posts. To balance against potential over-saturation and thus

potential redundancy, WCO employs a discursive convention typical of journalistic discourse – the use of headlines to "optimize relevance" (Dor 716) for its audience. The optimization of relevance is an important journalistic convention because, as noted by Dor (2003), "it is the rather obvious fact that readers do not always read news items beyond the headline. On the contrary, most readers spend most of their reading time scanning the headlines rather than reading stories" (718). According to Dor (2003), headline writers can create such relevance for their audience by "requiring the minimal amount of processing effort – by being short, clear, unambiguous and easy to read…[by] carrying the maximal amount of contextual effects – by being interesting and new…[and by] construct[ing] the right context for interpretation" (716). WCO's use of headlines in its embedded third-party edited posts reflects these characteristics as they are brief,[28] written in a colloquial tone to enhance inclusivity (a key objective for grassroots organizations) and employ a series of contextual clues. For WCO, context is a key rhetorical consideration in the provision of salient headlines. Although its audience is unified by its opposition to IWT, as a "coalition of individuals and grassroots citizen's groups from across Ontario" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us") WCO has to rhetorically attend to the inherent diversity of its audience with regards to their regional particularities. One of the ways in which WCO attends to this is through the use of contextual clues within its headlines.

For example, in terms of providing regional contextual clues, one of WCO's tactics is to use a series of 'scaling' techniques – which I discuss in detail later – in which they offer a regional reference in their headline if such a reference is absent in the original headline; or, conversely, if a regional reference is made in the original headline, WCO removes it from their headline.

[28] Dor (2003) observes that with regards "the actual length of each particular headline, however, is a matter of considerable debate" (708).

Through these techniques, WCO "optimizes the relevance" (Dor 705) of these types of embedded third-party edited link for its regionally diverse audience.

Furthermore, contextualization is achieved through WCO's use of thematic-based headlines. For example, based on my corpus, each headline can be assigned to each of the following thematic categories, in no particular order: health, policy, environment, economics, and politics. Not surprisingly, these categories are the thematic cornerstones of WCO's oppositional discourse.[29] Thus, the prominence of these themes throughout my corpus demonstrates that WCO uses headlines to thematically frame each link in accordance with its primary concerns. Through this thematic contextualization strategy, WCO 'optimizes the relevance' of each headline as it enables the audience to select blog posts which attune to their individual interests and/or needs. Yet, even in the case in which an audience member doesn't access a particular blog post, this thematic contextual framing at the headline level maximizes an interpretation as to how/why the hyperlinked item corroborates IWT opposition.

As an extension of thematic contextualization, WCO often employs the journalistic conventions of newspaper editorials in their headlines. Such conventions, as noted by Bonyadi & Samuel (2012), rhetorically enable the composition of headlines which introduce "the topic of editorials", but more importantly, present "the subjective attitude of the writers toward the topic aiming at influencing and shaping the readers' understanding of the editorial text" (8). Throughout my corpus, the vast majority of embedded third-party edited link headlines can be considered as representative of this editorial convention. For example, in linking to an item entitled "Wind power vexes Manitoulin Island" (Strobel) WCO constructs the following

[29] For comparison, see WCO's "About Us" page: http://www.windconcernsontario.ca/about-us/

headline: “Wind power invades beauty of Great Spirit Island” (Wind Concerns Ontario “Wind Power Invades”). Through the use of auxesis, which means “heightening through strategic word choices” in which a rhetor uses a “term with associations that push in the direction of the assessment the rhetor wants” (Fahnestock 391), WCO substitutes “vexes” in the original link with “invades”. Such heightening presents a ‘subjective attitude’ and amplifies a negative characterization of ‘wind power’ which ‘influences and shapes’ the reader’s interpretation of the original item. This strategy is not only reserved for headline composition. In fact, it frequently appears in the use of slanted summaries within the lead portion of WCO’s embedded third-party edited posts. For example, in linking to an article entitled “Water worries prompted ban on offshore wind farms, but Ontario's done nothing about them” (Reevely), WCO not only offers the following headline: “Water worries behind Ontario halt to offshore wind farms, but no research being done”, but also the following lead:

> The Ontario Liberal government claimed that concern about the impact on water quality was behind its decision to cancel wind power projects in the Great Lakes, not lost Liberal votes. The trouble is, there is no research being done on this issue. No surprise: there was never any research on the onshore 550metre setbacks either…(Wind Concerns Ontario “Water Worries”)

Through this ‘editorialized’ lead, WCO enacts a particular interpretative lens for the corresponding link by not only questioning the government’s ‘claim’ regarding why wind power projects were cancelled in the Great Lakes, but by also critiquing the government for not conducting research – a critique which I will investigate in more detail below while discussing WCO’s use of moralistic melodramatic appeals. In providing an ‘indictment’ of the government

through this 'editorialized' lead, WCO 'influences and shapes' the reader's interpretation of the original link in two ways. Firstly, as evidenced above, slanted summaries amplify the original item's negative characterization of IWT developments and/or policies – in this case, the original item asserts that "no research [is] being done" (Reevely), and WCO repeats this line verbatim in their lead. Secondly, WCO's 'editorialized' leads often counter a claim or critique the way a particular issue has been covered in the embedded third-party link. For example, in retort to an article entitled "Ottawa West-Nepean candidates are familiar rivals" (CBC News) WCO offers the following lead: "This story really skims the surface: there have been several demonstrations in front of Bob Chiarelli's office related to electricity bills in recent months" (Wind Concerns Ontario "The Fight"). In this example, it is clear that WCO is critical of the scope of the original item, and through this critique, WCO constructs a strategic lens which influences how its audience will interpret this item. Later, I discuss in detail how this tactic is used discursively by WCO to portray expertise – a tactic which both amplifies the heroic/virtuous portrayal of IWT opponents as well as functions as a counter rhetoric to the institutionalized, technocratic discourses of government and developers.

Finally, through the strategic combination of these journalistic conventions (the use of headlines and leads to thematically contextualize embedded third-party edited posts and the provision of an 'editorialized' interpretative lens), WCO constitutes this controversy as a polarization of both characters and positions – a key feature of melodrama. By doing so, WCO is able to "generate the very parameters and objects of controversy" (Schwarze 253) and such generation not only shapes the audience's understanding of this controversy, but also creates either identification or division – the telos of the former being unification, the telos of the latter being exclusion.

Seen through the lens of participatory journalism, the strategies noted above enable WCO both to function as the central "voice of opposition" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Join & Donate") and to unify the diverse community oppositional groups which it represents. Not only does such unification provide the "motive force for sustaining social critique" (Schwarze 247), it also enacts a "motive force for collective action" (244). This 'collective sustainment' is most evident in the fact that after being founded in 2009, WCO continues to exist – an impressive feat for a grassroots organization. As it has been illustrated, part of its continuance can be attributed to the ways in which WCO maximizes its "digital ecology" (Grant et al. 5), and thus its use of embedded third-party edited headlines and leads can be considered as an effective kairotic response to the digitized rhetorical environment in which WCO exists – an environment which can be can be further understood through the lens of melodramatic rhetoric.

Within the context of digitized rhetoric, scholars are increasingly studying the constitutive effects of polarizing discourse within online social networks (Gilbert et al. 2009; Vaccari 2013; Colleoni et al. 2014; Barberá et al. 2015). For example, some scholars argue that the constitutive effects of such discourse "may foster selective exposure to ideologically congenial content, resulting in an 'echo chamber' environment that could facilitate social extremism and political polarization" (Barberá et al. 2). From this perspective, an echo chamber is an online environment in which the ideologies of like-minded participants reverberate while contrary, external ideologies are simultaneously dismissed. Furthermore, amidst the proliferation of social networking sites in which individuals tend to "create homogeneous groups and to affiliate with individuals that share their political view" (Colleoni et al. 319), scholars assert that such sites create an online environment which promotes "political homophily" (317), defined by Huber & Malhorta (2017) as "a preference for those who are politically similar" (270). However, such

scholarship has yet to identify the discourse which creates echo chambers and promotes 'political homophily' as melodramatic rhetoric. From my perspective, the polarizing, unifying effects of echo chambers and 'political homophily' are key rhetorical functions of melodrama which now figure prominently in the digital public sphere. Therefore, exploration and consideration of these rhetorical tendencies and implications is increasingly important for not only rhetoricians, but for anyone who uses, or may consider using it, as a rhetorical response to social and political conflicts. Thus, in the following section, I offer a situated analysis of WCO's oppositional discourse to illuminate not only the prominent rhetorical elements within this particular controversy, but also to contribute to an increased understanding of the tendencies and implications of rhetorical melodrama which could inform scholars who analyze polarizing, unifying discourses in other contexts.

5.2 Part Two: The Four Features of Melodrama

In the conclusion of "Environmental Melodrama," Schwarze (2006) observes that "the recurrence of the melodramatic frame at various levels of environmental controversy presents an especially rich field of inquiry for environmental communication scholars in particular" (256). WCO's oppositional rhetoric in response to the development of IWT in Ontario indicates such an occurrence, and I believe that this phenomenon constitutes a unique opportunity for such inquiry.

Undoubtedly, environmental melodrama is a prominent feature within this organization's overall discourse. Yet, as per the rationale provided in my methodology, my analysis will focus on how WCO uses embedded third-party edited blog posts as part of its overall melodramatic rhetorical strategy. This analysis is structured according to the four key features of environmental melodrama within Schwarze's conceptual framework: "a focus on socio-political conflict, polarization of characters and positions, a moral framing of melodrama, and development of monopathy" (245).

In the following sections, I offer an explanation of each of these features as well as identify and analyze the rhetorical tactics used to enact each feature within my corpus. When considered cumulatively, my analysis will support how my corpus can be characterized as an environmental melodrama. It also expands Schwarze's conceptual framework by demonstrating how "differentiation humour" is central to WCO's enactment of the fourth feature, the development of monopathy. Prior to commencing, it is worth noting that the effects of a rhetorical tactic within one feature are not necessarily exclusive to that feature. For example, the creation of a victim/villain binary can be considered to simultaneously designate the socio-political underpinnings of a conflict, create polarization, moralize a conflict and through such polarization

and moralization, create monopathy within an audience. To deal with this complexity, the details of such tactics will be discussed in relation to the feature to which my corpus offers the strongest connection.

5.3 How WCO's Use of "Embedded Third-Party Edited" Posts Situates this Conflict on a Socio-Political Plane

In tracing the historical roots of melodrama and the corresponding scholarship, Schwarze (2006) asserts that melodrama situates "conflict on the social and political plane" (246) and presents conflict as existing "between individuals and some external opponent" (243). In the context of environmental controversies, Schwarze (2006) believes that through such situating and presentation, "melodrama can effectively place the fault line of environmentalism between the producers of significant environmental damage and those who suffer its effects" (246). Quite simply, whereas comedy – a strategy in which the objective is compromise – can be seen as drawing a line in the proverbial sand, melodrama draws a line in concrete. In drawing this line, Schwarze (2006) believes that melodrama reconstitutes "the dominant community understanding of the problem, expanding its scope from a private problem…to a community-wide problem" – a problem which requires "political action" against those who "exercise power in that situation" (247).

Yet, environmental melodrama also has the rhetorical potential to frame conflicts beyond merely the local level. For example, Schwarze et al. (2014) note that environmental melodrama can additionally frame controversies on a national or global level, or a combination of both (120) and that such framing is accomplished through a strategy of "scaling up" (114) identifications within

a particular narrative. Additionally, Schwarze et al. (2014) note that 'scaling up' "beyond the local melodrama" (114) poses a potential problem in creating such identification since:

> The power of environmental melodrama lies in its ability to create identification between audiences and characters in the narrative based on moral and emotional appeals, yet these kinds of appeals are all too often missing from national discourses…as a result, national narratives…may lack the texture of such humanised, local storytelling. (117)

However, Schwarze et al. (2014) conclude that "national-level melodramas could still be effective in creating moral and emotional identification" as long as such 'scaling up' sustains a "melodramatic emphasis on socio-political conflict and shared victimization" (117).

This rhetorical action figures prominently in WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts. Through an analysis of my corpus, it is apparent that WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts in three distinct ways to frame this controversy on three distinct socio-political planes.

Firstly, WCO scales down this controversy by framing it on the community level in which individual communities within the province of Ontario are negatively affected. Essentially, this strategy reiterates the mission statement of WCO, lends credence to community opposition, and unifies opponents by validating that although they are distinct communities, their opposition is shared by other communities across the province. Additionally, this strategy captures the local stories which foster community-level identification amidst such groups. Secondly, WCO scales up this controversy by framing it on a provincial level. By doing so, WCO not only delineates its opponent by emphasizing "shared victimization" (Schwarze et al. 117), it also positions itself as the central source of opposition within this controversy. Finally, WCO further scales up this

controversy by framing it on an international level to produce a counter-rhetoric to the strategies the provincial government's justification and promotion of IWT within the province.

In the following section, I will offer evidence and analysis of the strategies noted above, discuss the corresponding rhetorical effects, and reflect on and extend an understanding of the ways in which 'scaling' strategies function this particular melodrama.

Scaling Down to the Community Level

The principal strategy which WCO employs to scale down this controversy to a community level is through the naming of particular communities in their embedded third-party edited posts. As noted by Schwarze et al. (2014), within an environmental melodrama, the community in which an environmental melodrama is enacted plays an important role in that it can "provide the setting for the drama, and…serve as one of the primary victims" (112). Thus, the naming of a community can be considered as having a profound rhetorical effect.

The strategy of scaling down through the inclusion of a specific community name is employed in WCO edited headlines when the particular geographic region to which the original news article refers is absent in the original headline. For example, in "Table 1-Examples of Scaling Down to a Specific Community," we see that when the specific community to which the article refers is omitted in the original headline, WCO includes the community in the subject position of its headline:

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Edited Headline
2013/05/23	1A	Green Energy Projects	Hamilton Township an 'unwilling host'
2013/05/16	1B	NextEra faces Ontario appeal	NextEra faces Ontario appeal of Bornish REA

2014/05/05	1C	We're Against Industrial Turbines Plympton-Wyoming seeking $300, 000 to hire Julian Falconer	Plympton-Wyoming residents set up turbine fight
2014/05/08	1D	Here's a brand new initiative in the fight against wind turbines in PEC	Prince Edward County to try new challenge based on Antrim precedent
2014/05/15	1E	Mayor urging township residents to not speak to wind developer	Enniskillen Mayor: don't talk to wind power developers
2015/05/01	1F	Wind Fight Far From Over	Grey Highlands fight revs up: two appeals set
2016/05/17	1G	Study on health effects of wind turbines may duplicate other studies, board worries	Huron County health board pauses turbine noise health investigation

Table 1-Examples of Scaling Down to a Specific Community

This strategy enables WCO to scale down this controversy to the community level and in doing so, they enact the following rhetorical functions. Firstly, for an organization which identifies itself as a "coalition of individuals and grassroots citizen's groups from across Ontario" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us"), this strategy enables WCO to explicitly represent these communities, and by default, the community organizations within the province imbricated amidst this controversy. This strategy fulfills three additional functions – it has a pragmatic purpose, it elevates the ethos of the organization, and it creates relevance for the audience.

From a pragmatic perspective, WCO, like all grassroots organizations, faces financial challenges to maintain active opposition. In fact, WCO states that they "receive no funding other than membership fees and donations…we are a strictly volunteer organization and, save for legal advisors, rely on the dedicated work of members of citizen groups throughout Ontario" ("About Us"). Therefore, this strategy of scaling down to include specific communities in headlines increases their target audience for the solicitation of donations – a solicitation which appears on every page within the entire WCO website/blog.

In terms of ethos, by naming specific regions, WCO positions itself as the central source of local oppositional discourses. Whereas an individual grassroots organization is focused on their own controversy, the cumulative effect of naming specific communities positions WCO as an overarching authority amidst these local controversies. In addition, since WCO identifies itself as "the voice of opposition to invasive unreliable and expensive wind power generation projects in our communities" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Join & Donate") and that its mandate is to inform "the people of Ontario as to the many concerns surrounding industrial wind power" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us"), this strategy enables WCO to portray itself as an inclusive, as opposed to exclusive, organization – a portrayal central to its mandate.

With regards to relevance, by scaling down, WCO constitutes a "community understanding of the problem" (Schwarze 247) as such headline links create relevance for the particular communities named. It is highly probable that viewers of this blog are more inclined to access links which name the particular community in which they live, and this strategy enables WCO to disseminate information to these particular audiences. Additionally, as an extension of such relevance, the inclusion of specific communities named in the headlines on a 'central opposition web portal' gives a sense of credence to each of the communities named, credence which, in essence, justifies these communities' opposition and promotes a community-level "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244). Finally, the naming of specific communities reiterates that these specific communities are part of an overall collective – a collective of opponents to industrial wind turbine development within the province. In this way, the naming of communities in these headlines functions to unify the audience – a way of illustrating that 'their concerns are our concerns' and vice-versa – an additional way of providing "a motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244).

It can be argued that an overreliance on this tactic could have detrimental discursive effects. Particularly, promotion of opposition at only the local level has the potential to erode identification and shift away from "collective action and political activism to individual responsibility, a move that promotes a limited type of action and which may constrain agency" (Schwarze et al. 116). In response to this, WCO utilizes its secondary naming strategy to "move beyond the local melodrama" (Schwarze et al. 114).

Scaling Up to the Provincial Level

When a particular community is named in the original headline, WCO employs its second naming tactic – scaling up. When an original headline indicates the specific community to which the article refers, WCO removes the specific community name, inserts a wider-community label, generally in the form of either a region or some variation of 'Ontario', or, in some cases, rewrites the entire headline. Both techniques supply a wider-scale politicization of the original article. "Table 2-Examples of Scaling Up to the Provincial Level" provides examples of how this strategy occurs:

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Edited Headline
2013/05/13	2A	Health study should be complete before province moves ahead, Plympton-Wyoming mayor says	Province blows winds of change
2013/05/27	2B	Sarnia-Lambton officials looking to province for help	High power costs discouraging industry
2014/05/06	2C	Ottawa West-Nepean candidates are familiar rivals	The fight to unseat the Energy Minister
2014/05/08	2D	Nextera wind project in Lambton County receives energy board approval	Next Era gets Ontario Energy Board approval

2015/05/08	2E	Province approves second wind energy project in Manvers Township	Wind farm approved for protected Oak Ridges Moraine: Ontario sacrifices fragile environment for wind power plant
2015/05/27	2F	Suncor plans new wind farm in Warwick and Brooke-Alvinston	Suncor, NextEra proposing new wind farms in Lambton
2016/05/03	2G	Not backing down on Nation Rise Wind Farm	Wind farm fight in Eastern Ontario: "no democracy, no truth"
2016/05/13	2H	McWilliams: Voices of Dutton Dunwich residents ignored	No autonomy for Ontario communities with Wynne government wind power push: Dutton Dunwich mayor

Table 2-Examples of Scaling Up to the Provincial Level

Scaling up from a specific community label to a wider geographic label is evidenced in 2E, 2F & 2G. In these instances, we see how specific geographic labels are replaced with counties/regions/the province of Ontario. Specifically, in 2E, we see "Manvers Township" replaced with the "Oak Ridges Moraine"[30]; in 2F, "Warwick and Brooke-Alvinston" is replaced with "Lambton"[31]; and in 2G "Nation Rise Wind Farm" is replaced with "Eastern Ontario".[32] In 2A, 2B, 2C & 2D, we see how specific community names have been omitted as the revised headline scales up the site of the controversy to the provincial level. For example, in 2A, we see "Health study should be complete before province moves ahead, Plympton-Wyoming mayor says" replaced with "Province blows winds of change"; in 2B, "Sarnia-Lambton officials looking to province for help" is replaced with "High power costs discouraging industry"; in 2C, "Ottawa West-Nepean candidates are familiar rivals" is replaced with "The fight to unseat the Energy Minister"; and finally in 2D, "Nextera wind project in Lambton County receives energy board

[30] The Oak Ridges Moraine consists of a combination of 32 counties, cities, regions, municipalities, towns and townships. See: http://www.oakridgesmoraine.org/mop.html
[31] Lambton County consists of a combination of 11 cities, villages, municipalities, towns and townships. See: https://www.lambtononline.ca/home/government/localmunicipalities/Pages/default.aspx
[32] Eastern Ontario is considered to consist of eight counties. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Ontario

approval" is replaced with "Next Era gets Ontario Energy Board approval". Once again, in these examples, the site of the controversy is scaled up to the provincial level. Through this strategy, WCO frames the controversy on a wider political scale and such politicization has constitutive effects for both WCO and its audience.

In terms of the constitutive effects specific to WCO, this strategy enables WCO to achieve a position of centrality within provincial opposition. In addition, it is important to note that in its blog posts, WCO often retains the original article headline in the form of a sub-heading. Thus, in these instances of scaling up, WCO simultaneously frames the controversy referenced in each link on both the provincial and local level. In doing so, WCO "effectively place[s] the fault line of environmentalism between the producers of significant environmental damage [the provincial government] and those who suffer its effects [the local communities across the province]" (Schwarze 246). By creating clear political demarcations, this scaling up strategy enables WCO to constitute itself as the central voice of local opposition and reify itself as "a province-wide advocacy organization" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Homepage") against the provincial government.

Whereas scaling down created relevance for specific audiences by naming specific communities, scaling up creates relevance for a wider blog audience. With the escalation of this controversy to the provincial level through the use of scaled up headlines, specific community opponents are essentially collectivized into a singular, unified audience. Such unification not only helps to promote empathy within this audience – an important feature of monopathy which will be discussed later – it also promotes a provincial "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244). This promotion is crucial for WCO to create an energized opposition since the policies

which instigated this controversy were enacted by the provincial government. Importantly, through such instigation, the provincial government often relied on international evidence regarding the overall efficacy of IWT. In response to this, WCO uses an additional scaling up strategy evidenced in my corpus – the inclusion of international industrial wind turbine news items in its blog.

Scaling Up to an International Level

When international IWT news items are included in the blog, WCO generally makes the following two provisions in the link: the provision of an edited headline or lead which identifies the particular country/region to which the original item refers; and/or the provision of an edited headline or lead in which the context of the original article is provided as well as a summary statement which connotes relevance for the WCO audience, relevance which is most often achieved through oppositional framing. Furthermore, WCO's tactic of scaling up to an international level functions as a counter-rhetoric to the Liberal government's justification and promotion of green energy legislation.

To justify the creation of the Green Energy Act in Ontario, green energy advocates frequently referred to existing renewable policies in other countries to demonstrate how a similar policy would benefit Ontario. Germany, primarily, was cited as a country whose modern energy policies allowed renewable energy developments to flourish. For example, during the "Standing Committee on General Government (2009, April 08) - Bill 150, Green Energy and Green Economy Act" hearings, Deborah Doncaster, the Chair of the Green Energy Act Alliance, offers such justification by stating that:

> The point of comparison with Germany is that it is a jurisdiction with a landmass one third the size of Ontario, and in Germany today they have 280,000 jobs in the renewable energy sector. They're producing 32,000 megawatts of renewable energy today; that's 100 terawatt hours per year, which compares to Ontario's total electricity demand of 150 terawatt hours a year. By 2030, Germany's renewable energy supply will grow from 15% to 50% of total requirements. The German government anticipates the jobs to be in the 800,000 to 900,000 range. In some ways, Ontario's energy plan is superior to Germany's because we are legally required to eliminate coal-fired generation by 2014 and the proposed act does not place caps or limits on the amount of renewables and conservation that can come into the system. (Legislative Assembly of Ontario)

Post-legislation, to promote the Green Energy Act (2009), the Ministry of Energy also made frequent reference to how the Act was not only modeled after 'successful' international renewable energy polices, but that eminent international public figures applauded the Ontario government's initiative, public figures whose countries/states were considered to beacons for this type of legislation. For example, in a backgrounder entitled "International Support for Ontario's Green Energy Act" published in June 2009, such notable individuals included Arnold Schwarzenegger, at the time the Governor of the State of California; Dr. Hermann Scheer, the General Chairman of the World Council of Renewable Energy and Member of the National Parliament of Germany; Preben Maegaard, Vice-President, Eurosolar, and Executive Director, Danish Folkecenter for Renewable Energy; Steve Howard, CEO, The Climate Group, London, England; and Frances Beinecke, President, Natural Resources Defense Council, USA (Ontario Ministry of Energy "Archived Backgrounder"). In response to these types of appeals and accolades, WCO frequently uses embedded third-party edited posts to scale up the industrial

wind turbine controversy to an international level, and in doing so, often amplifies particular aspects of the original item in promotion of its opposition. As I illustrate below, this strategy functions as a counter-rhetoric to the green energy advocacy espoused by governments and other agencies in Ontario which amplified the 'international' efficacy of IWT as key justification within their overall discourse.

Although amplification is a complex rhetorical topic, discussed and dissected by rhetoricians since ancient times, Fahnestock (2011) offers a succinct and helpful definition: "the amplifying of an element is to endow it with stylistic prominence so that it acquires conceptual importance in the discourse and salience in the minds of the audience" (390). This definition highlights two key concepts of amplification: prominence and salience. The analysis below explores how WCO uses its embedded third-party edited posts to establish/reinforce the prominence of particular themes within its overall opposition and how, cumulatively, the posts create salience for its audience.

Within my corpus, we see that WCO not only incorporates international news stories related to industrial wind turbine developments, but that through the use of embedded third-party edited posts, WCO amplifies aspects of these stories which portray a negative connotation of IWT. In doing so, WCO positions such posts as a counter-rhetoric to the international-oriented advocacy in Ontario. This strategy enables WCO to provide their own justification for opposition to IWT in response to such advocacy – a strategy in line with one of their stated objectives. For example, on their "About Us" page, WCO lists a series of "Basic facts about utility-scale wind power". One of these 'facts' includes the position that:

> The European experience with wind power generation is "not as advertised." Other countries have more stringent setbacks, and have also learned that the job creation was not as forecast, and higher electricity prices for business and consumers actually harms the economy. Several are reversing their subsidies for wind power. ("About Us")

Thus, the inclusion of international news items within their blog can be considered to be more than mere coincidence. The following section probes the particular rhetorical tactics WCO uses to frame these items as part of a larger counter rhetoric.

Generally, this strategy is employed by naming the country/region in the headline and in either the headline or lead, providing a negatively slanted summary which amplifies the view that the international industrial wind turbine policies upon which the Green Energy Act was modeled are, 'in fact,' flawed. In "Table 3-Scaling Up to an International Level", we see examples of this strategy:

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Edited Headline	Lead/Caption
2013/05/15	3A	Is condor ruling a 'slippery slope'?	Killing California Condors, and…	
2013/05/18	3B	Independence turbine owners refusing to cooperate with sound study	Independence turbine owners refusing to cooperate with sound study	In Kingston Massachusetts, the turbine owner is reported as suddenly refusing to participate in acoustic studies, and instead is making noise about "legal action for cause of libel and defamation"

2013/05/21	3C	Millions for wind power we can't use	Millions for wind power we can't use	In the UK, concern on the costs of curtailing electricity generation
2013/05/29	3D	Brussels Question German Energy Revolution	European Commission Set to Fight German Energy Subsidies	
2013/05/31	3E	Select Board chairman will move to shut turbines down at night	Fairhaven Select Board chairman will move to shut turbines down at night	A second Massachusetts town is moving to curtail the nighttime of turbines not compliant with noise standards
2015/05/21	3F	German doctors push to halt building of wind turbines	Doctors in Germany call for halt to wind farms; concerned about health impacts from infrasound	
2015/05/23	3G	Senator David Leyonhjelm wants government to monitor wind turbine noise	Australian Senator urges caution on wind turbine noise	
2016/05/24	3H	Poland adopts limits on where wind farms can be built	Poland sets stringent new setbacks, property tax rules for wind turbines	Wind farms will disappear says wind power lobby

Table 3-Scaling Up to an International Level

Specifically, in 3A we see the following headline: "Is condor ruling a 'slippery slope'?". In the corresponding news story, the author identifies that "The Fish and Wildlife Service has given approval for a proposed wind farm in Kern County, Calif., to "take" — that is, injure or kill — one condor over the project's 30-year lifetime" (Guillén). WCO revises this original headline to include not only the geographic context to which the original article refers, but also inserts "killing", a verb in the present tense and "condors" in the plural form. This tactic implies that

condors are being killed and such amplification obviously frames industrial wind turbine development in California, a key pro-renewable energy region referred to by green energy advocates in Ontario, in a negative light. In 3D, we see the same tactic applied as the headline "Brussels Questions German Energy Revolution" has been edited to read "European Commission Set to Fight German Energy Subsidies". In this example, "Brussels", the city in which the European Commission is based, has been substituted for the "European Commission". Such scaling up amplifies the 'continental' scope of the article's context. In addition, when considered in relation to its plan to "Fight German Energy Subsidies", the merits of German energy policies are obviously negatively connoted which undermines the efficacy of German IWT policies – policies which the Ontario government used as a model for the Green Energy Act.

In 3F, we see how WCO alters the original headline, "German doctors push to halt building of wind turbines" in favour of "Doctors in Germany call for halt to wind farms; concerned about health impacts from infrasound". Through this alteration, WCO amplifies the negative consequences of the story in a way that creates prominence for the viewer and further justifies Ontario-based opposition. For example, a major theme in WCO's oppositional discourse is that industrial wind turbines have negative health effects.[33] Specifically, WCO states that "there ARE health effects from utility-scale wind turbine noise emissions due to the environmental noise and vibration they produce. Sleep disturbance produces sleep deprivation which in turn can cause headaches, high blood pressure and other symptoms" ("About Us"). Thus, by highlighting the reference to "infrasound" (Wind Watch) in the original article, WCO makes the theme of

[33] This theme will be later discussed in detail in describing how WCO morally frames this conflict.

negative health effects more prominent for its audience. Further prominence is created through the inclusion of the phrase "concerned about health impacts"; notably, the amplification of this concern is created by taking liberties with the original article. The original article highlights that German scientists have concluded that "there are no reliable independent studies that investigate field measurement methodology" (Wind Watch) not that they are "concerned about health impacts from infrasound". Thus, through the use of "tendentious recovery", a rhetorical strategy in which "the inaccuracies in direct quoting clearly serve an editorial purpose" (Fahnestock 308), this edited headline further scales up the industrial wind turbine controversy in Ontario by citing that Germany, the 'so-called model country of renewable energy,' has concerns that are aligned with grassroots opposition concerns in Ontario. 3G offers another example of "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308) as the headline in the original article, "Senator David Leyonhjelm wants government to monitor wind turbine noise" is replaced with "Australian Senator urges caution on wind turbine noise". In the original article, the author discusses how this Senator is "calling on the [Australian] government to set up a new regulator to monitor noise levels near wind turbines" because, in his words, "those who justify action on climate change because of the precautionary principle will understand the need to apply the same principle to infrasound" (*The Sydney Morning Herald*). Thus, to imply that the Senator "urges caution on turbine noise" amplifies the controversy within the original article, and by doing so, helps to justify industrial wind turbine opposition within Ontario.

In the next three examples, we see how WCO uses their own lead to further supply a slanted-summary of the original article within their link. For example, in 3B we see the inclusion of "In Kingston Massachusetts, the turbine owner is reported as suddenly refusing to participate in acoustic studies, and instead is making noise about "legal action for cause of libel and

defamation". Not only is the specific region of this controversy named, but this lead negatively characterizes this turbine owner through the inclusion of "suddenly", an adverb absent in the original headline. This subtle inclusion leads the viewer to question the ethics of the turbine owner. . His 'sudden refusal' "to participate in acoustic studies" implies that the turbine owner doesn't care about the harm this turbine may be causing and thus that he is unethical and potentially nefarious. The credibility of the turbine owner is further undermined through the inclusion of the pejorative phrase "making noise" which deflates the perceived credence of his/her legal action. 3C is evidence of another use of a slanted-summary, "In the UK, concern on the costs of curtailing electricity generation". In this example, after the geographic region is named, WCO amplifies the theme of the original article about the "concern on the costs" of electricity generated by IWT. Importantly, 'Concern over costs' is a common oppositional theme within WCO's overall oppositional discourse. For example, WCO states that "if wind power generation projects were forced to conduct a cost-benefit analysis to determine their contribution, including property value loss and other factors, they would not be economically viable" ("About Us"). Thus, crafting a slanted summary of the original article amplifies this issue and enables WCO to create prominence for this particular theme of opposition for the audience. In 3E, "A second Massachusetts town is moving to curtail the nighttime of turbines not compliant with noise standards", this WCO-authored lead highlights the geographic context of the original article and through its slanted-summary implies that another 'town' has admitted that turbines create noise above allowable standards. Through scaling up to an international level, WCO suggests to its audience that change to existing industrial wind turbine policies is possible, even if such change is taking place outside of the borders of their particular opposition. This message is similarly conveyed in the final example, 3H, with both the headline, "Poland

sets stringent new setbacks, property tax rules for wind turbines" and the lead "Wind farms will disappear says wind power lobby". Highlighting that change has occurred on a country-level in Europe and that such change will essentially eliminate the wind industry communicates a hopeful perspective to WCO's audience.

As has been demonstrated, WCO's scaling up of this controversy through the inclusion of international-oriented news items functions as a counter-rhetoric to the Liberal government's justification and promotion of green energy legislation. . This is accomplished through the provision of its own headlines and leads which reiterate the context of the original article, as well as headlines and leads which often amplifies the position that the international models which the Ontario government used in both the creation and promotion of its Green Energy Act are flawed. In addition, these headlines and leads often employ slanted-summaries which amplify key themes within WCO's oppositional discourse. Individually, this strategy functions to create salience for the audience; cumulatively, it constitutes the framework of WCO's oppositional discourse. This tactic not only places WCO's own opposition on a social plane, it politicizes this controversy by "clarifying issues of power that are obscured by privatizing rhetorics" (Schwarze 246) and enacts "a clear understanding of the entities that exercise power in that situation" (247). In the next section, we will examine how WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts further function to provide such discursive clarity through a "polarization of characters and positions" (Schwarze 245) – the second feature of environmental melodrama.

5.4 How WCO's Use of "Embedded Third-Party Edited" Posts Polarizes Characters and Positions within this Conflict

According to Schwarze (2006), polarization functions as an extension of the "socio-political" (248) feature highlighted above. Yet, whereas the "socio-political" (248) feature elevates a controversy from an individual to a social level, draws the "fault line[s]" (246) between those who harm and those who are harmed, and clarifies "issues of power" to disrupt existing "power relationships" (246), polarization sharpens "conflict through a bipolar positioning of characters and forces" (244).

To enact this 'bipolar positioning', as evidenced within my corpus, WCO utilizes three rhetorical tactics. Firstly, WCO employs 'militaristic' language to frame this conflict as a 'battle'. In doing so, WCO rhetorically enacts 'bipolar' battle lines and thus escalates this conflict. Secondly, through a personification of villains within my corpus, WCO creates a villain/victim binary (Schwarze 247) – a binary which, based on my corpus, I think can be more accurately described as a 'heroic/villainous' (Blain 1994 806) rhetorical arrangement. This arrangement promotes an inter-identification of IWT opponents through division from the pro-IWT villains depicted in this discourse. In addition, this tactic reinforces the intensity of WCO's opposition. Finally, to further the 'heroic/villainous' (Blain 806) binary, WCO amplifies the polarity of this conflict by legitimating its own opposition to IWT. By exploring this tactic, we can see that WCO doesn't rely solely on the traditional melodramatic dynamic of victimization, but rather on the integration of such legitimization functions to craft a 'heroic' counter rhetoric to the technocratic discourse of both governments and developers. In the following section, I will offer

examples of each of these tactics as well as further describe the rhetorical effects of how WCO uses melodrama as "an integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256).

5.4 (i) Polarization through the Use of Militaristic Discourse

As previously noted, scholars such as Brooks (1973) identify that melodrama has its roots in the fallout of the French Revolution. Based on this observation, Brooks (1973) posits that modern applications of this narrative genre inherently depict a revolutionary tone. This argument is further developed by Blain (1994) who, in his article entitled "Power, War, and Melodrama in the Discourses of Political Movements", uses melodrama as an "interpretative analytic" (808) to examine how this narrative genre "elaborates a power/strategy interpretation of what movement actors do with words" (805). Specifically, Blain (1994) observes that movements often discursively reflect "militaristic campaigns" (805). For example, he notes how terms such as "mobilization, campaign, battle, targets, opponents, attacks, strategy, tactics, objectives, aims, ammo, weapons, etc" (805-06) – terms central to military discourse – are frequently employed in movement rhetoric. Based on this observation, Blain (1994) argues that these "polemical" terms are common in a movement's application of melodramatic discourse since "a rhetoric of movement motives must function to differentiate the field of action into heroic, moral protagonists locked into battle with villainous antagonists" (806). Within my corpus, we see evidence of this type of terminology being incorporated in the headline, lead, and/or caption of numerous WCO embedded third-party edited posts. As we examine these instances, it will become apparent that such incorporation functions to constitute this conflict as a battle, thus establishing figurative battle lines. Examples of such usage are depicted in "Table 4 – Examples of Militaristic Terminology with an Implied Positive Connotation":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline
2013/05/02	4A	Terence Corcoran: Ontario Liberals' last power trip	Financial Post Tackles Ontario's Energy Policy
2013/05/28	4B	Rough seas for 60MW Bluewater	Bluewater/Goshen: REC appeals and IWT permit fees challenged
2013/05/29	4C	Brussels Questions German Energy Revolution	European Commission Set to Fight German Energy Subsidies
2014/05/05	4D	ENERGY: We're Against Industrial Turbines Plympton-Wyoming seeking $300,000 to hire Julian Falconer	Plympton-Wyoming residents step up turbine fight
2014/05/06	4E	Ottawa West Nepean candidates are familiar rivals	The fight to unseat the Energy Minister
2016/05/03	4F	Not backing down on Nation Rise Wind Farm	Wind farm fight in Eastern Ontario: "no democracy, no truth"

Table 4-Examples of Militaristic Terminology with an Implied Positive Connotation

Through the incorporation of such militaristic terminology as "tackle" (4A), "challenge" (4B) and "fight" (4C, 4D, 4E and 4F), WCO constitutes this controversy as a battle. Through this, two immediate objectives are served. Firstly, the incorporation of militaristic terminology in these examples helps "clarify [this] conflict through polarization" (Schwarze 244) that is – it distinguishes the actors on either side of this 'tackle/challenge/fight'. Secondly, such incorporation constitutes a confrontational, combative tone which escalates the conflict. Such escalation further solidifies the binary of those who think this controversy is warranted versus those who think it is not. On the surface, these objectives work in concert to create the battle lines within this conflict and divide the audience into two distinct groups: those in opposition to IWT and those in support.

Yet, based on my analysis of my corpus, this incorporation has an additional function. Specifically, depending on the term in question, there is an implied positive or negative

connotation in the use of militaristic terminology which functions to further polarize the actors/audiences into a 'heroic/villainous' (Blain 1994 806) binary. For example, when the implicit/explicit subject of a headline, lead, and/or caption refers to an opponent(s) of IWT, the use of militaristic language can be considered as having an implied positive connotation which amplifies the heroism of the said opponent(s).

Since the principal audience of the WCO blog are opponents to IWT, it is not surprising that WCO uses militaristic terminology to invoke positive connotations of opponents 'in battle.' This militaristic terminology celebrates, gives credence to, and 'heroically' portrays opponents. For example, as indicated in "Table 4 – Examples of Militaristic Terminology with an Implied Positive Connotation", the implied subject in each of these examples are opponents who, based on a perceived injustice, are actively engaged in a 'tackle/challenge/fight' against the government. In particular, the representation of local grassroots community groups in 4B, 4D, 4E & 4F portrays such groups as active agents willingly embroiled in a "fight" for what they believe in.

Militaristic terminology employed in relation to the supporters of IWT – notably government and developers – achieves the opposite effect. When the implicit/explicit subject of a headline, lead, or caption refers to a supporter(s) of IWT, the militaristic language has an implied negative connotation which amplifies the villainy of the said supporter(s). Such usage is depicted in "Table 5 – Examples of Militaristic Terminology with an Implied Negative Connotation":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Caption
2014/05/08	5A	Nextera wind project in Lambton County receives energy board approval	NextEra gets Ontario Energy Board approval	The government in lockstep with Big Wind
2014/05/26	5B	Wind power vexes Manitoulin Island	Wind power invades beauty of Great Spirit Island	
2015/05/08	5C	Province approves second wind energy project in Manvers Township	Wind farm approved for protected Oak Ridges Moraine: Ontario sacrifices fragile environment for wind power plant	
2016/05/09	5D	Gridmonsters attack!	Wind turbines an invasion of Ontario's power grid, says engineer	
2016/05/13	5E	McWilliams: Voices of Dutton Dunwich residents ignored	No autonomy for Ontario communities with Wynne government wind power push: Dutton Dunwich mayor	

Table 5-Examples of Militaristic Terminology with an Implied Negative Connotation

In these examples, we see the use of militaristic terminology such as "invades" (5B), "sacrifices" (5C), "invasion" (5D), "power push" (5F) in headlines, as well as in a caption which asserts that the Ontario government is "in lockstep with Big Wind" (5A). Such examples provide further evidence of how WCO constitutes this conflict as a battle, escalates this conflict, and in doing so, draws its battle lines. Yet, these examples also indicate how WCO employs militaristic terminology with an implied negative connotation to villainize industrial wind turbine supporters. For example, whether implicit or explicit, the subject in each phrase is the provincial government/industrial wind turbine developers. By insinuating that the government/developers

'invade the beauty of an island,' 'sacrifice fragile environment for wind power plant,' or 'push wind power into a community,' WCO personifies these agents as villainous entities since their militaristic act is juxtaposed with things that shouldn't be invaded/scarified/infringed: beautiful islands, the environment, and a local community. In addition, by claiming that "The government [is] in lockstep [a militaristic term which signifies simultaneous marching] with Big Wind" (5A), WCO insinuates the existence of collusion between the government and developers which casts both agents in a further villainous light.

Through an exploration of the way in which WCO incorporates militaristic terminology in its embedded third-party edited posts, it has been demonstrated that such incorporation figures predominantly in polarizing not only the conflict, but also supporters/opponents of industrial wind turbine developments. Specifically, we have seen how the incorporation of such terms constitute this conflict as a battle, and in doing so, escalate the conflict through the provision of figurative battle lines. In addition, the incorporation of this terminology valorizes opponents by positively representing them as being actively engaged in noble combat against a villainous adversary. This representation legitimates IWT opposition and thus repositions opposition from the fringe to the center of this conflict. Furthermore, by using this terminology to create a 'hero/villain' binary, WCO destabilizes the inherent power dynamics within this conflict. Finally, through this tactic and the one which will be discussed in the next section, when such heroism is depicted in the face of villainy, such discursive polarization helps "provide the motive force for sustaining social critique" (Schwarze 247).

5.4 (ii) Polarization through the Personification of Villainy

In the previous section, it was demonstrated that one of the effects achieved through WCO's use of militaristic terminology was the creation of a 'heroic/villain' binary. Yet, as will be demonstrated in this section, WCO uses additional discursive tactics to amplify the 'villain' component of this binary within this conflict. In particular, WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts to personify the villainy of industrial wind turbine supporters in two ways. Firstly, through these posts, WCO insinuates that such supporters – primarily the government and wind developers – are neither trustworthy nor transparent. Secondly, WCO portrays the government as being undemocratic – willingly enacting policies which go against the will of its citizens.

Throughout my corpus, there are examples of edited posts in which WCO insinuates the absence of trustworthiness and transparency of both the government and wind developers. Based on such insinuation, the obvious inference is that the government/developers are acting nefariously. Such examples are evidenced in "Table 6 – Vilification through the Implied Absence of Trust & Transparency":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2013/05/06	6A	FOI Reveals Ontario Gov't Reviewing Options to Downsize Wind Development	Ontario gov't looks to downsize wind power, FOI reveals	Tom Adams acquired documents via freedom of information (FOI) requests showing the government was holding secretive meetings on industrial wind projects and important bird areas (including McLean's Mountain and Ostrander Point)

2016/05/04	6B	EXCLUSIVE: OPP probes windfarm records	OPP probing missing wind farm contract documents	The ongoing lawsuit by Trillium Power, whose contract was suddenly cancelled by the McGuinty government, has revealed a “hole” in Ontario government records.
2016/05/07	6C	Ontario’s energy minister seems to thrive on adversity in cabinet’s toughest job	Chiarelli claims ‘other issues’ upsetting rural communities, not wind turbines	**Lead:** In this wideranging interview with the Ottawa Citizen, Ontario’s Energy Minister Bob Chiarelli claims that “other issues” are responsible for the severe divisions in rural communities, including “the abortion issue.” Yes, he really said that. Oh, and he’s running again in 2018.  **Caption:** Energy Minister Chiarelli: The Financial Post this week said he is an embarrassment, the energy file is a disaster, but he’s not apologizing
2016/05/18	6D	Unifor's Wind Turbine: Grandfathering Harmful Noise	The Unifor wind turbine: skirting the law on environmental noise	The Unifor wind turbine towers over a neighbourhood of 200 homes in Port Elgin. It would be illegal today. So far, the

				union has defied mandatory noise testing requirements, and ignored citizen concerns about the noise, and health impacts

Table 6-Vilification through the Implied Absence of Trust & Transparency

Within these headlines, leads, and/or captions, we see how WCO discursively portrays the government as being untrustworthy and lacking transparency. For example, WCO claims that the government has been holding "secretive meetings" (6A), an assertion absent in the original article. Obviously, such an indictment is meant to portray the government as being nefarious since 'secretive meetings' on a public issue contravene the tenets of a democracy. In 6B, we see how the inclusion of "missing" transforms the original headline into "OPP probing missing wind farm contract documents". By doing so, this headline insinuates that the government is guilty of misconduct – yet, the original link makes it clear that there are only allegations of misconduct in this circumstance. In 6C, WCO takes aim at then Minister of Energy Bob Chiarelli,[34] a frequent target in the WCO blog, by criticizing Chiarelli's assessment that "other issues" including "the abortion issue", as opposed to IWT, are "responsible for the severe divisions in rural communities". Whether or not Chiarelli's assessment has merit, WCO mocks Chiarelli by directly addressing the audience and in 'shared disbelief' states that "Yes, he really said that. Oh, and he's running again in 2018." Through such mockery, WCO characterizes Chiarelli as a disconnected and disinterested politician – one who will draw seemingly 'outlandish' conclusions to suit his own interests. To further characterize Chiarelli as untrustworthy, WCO adds the following caption under his unflattering photo: "Energy Minister Chiarelli: The

[34] Chiarelli served as Minister of Energy from February 11, 2013 — June 24, 2014 (http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/members/members_detail.do?locale=en&ID=324&detailPage=members_detail_career)

Financial Post this week said he is an embarrassment, the energy file is a disaster, but he's not apologizing". Whether or not *The Financial Post* made this comment could not be corroborated. However, by characterizing Chiarelli as being unrepentant and thus arrogant, the obvious insinuation is that the politician responsible for the policies on which this controversy revolves can't be trusted. Finally, in 6D we see an example of how WCO negatively portrays a wind developer – in this case Unifor[35] - for not only "skirting the law on environmental noise" but also that it "defied mandatory noise testing requirements, and ignored citizen concerns about the noise, and health impacts" of its Port Elgin turbine. The obvious implication here is that an organization that 'skirts the law, defies mandatory requirements, and ignores citizen health concerns' not only lacks transparency and trustworthiness, but is also deplorable. In essence, these examples highlight how WCO uses revised headlines, leads, visuals and/or captions in their blog posts to focus its audience's attention on the seemingly nefarious activities of industrial wind turbine supporters by highlighting supposed instances of untrustworthiness and absences of transparency. By applying these themes, WCO villainizes industrial wind turbine supporters in a way that further polarizes the 'hero/villain' binary. In the next section, we will explore how WCO further constitutes the government's 'villainy' by asserting that it is acting undemocratically.

In a democracy, to label the government as undemocratic is a criticism akin to villainy, and this tactic is evidenced throughout my corpus. Such labelling occurs in two ways. Firstly, WCO uses it in embedded third-party edited headlines, leads, and captions to discursively constitute a perceived lack of democracy. Secondly, WCO employs "oppositional iconography" (Schwarze

[35] Canada's largest private sector union (http://www.unifor.org/en/about-unifor)

247) by providing visuals which amplify the view that IWT are being undemocratically developed in the province. Both these rhetorical actions personify the government as being unethical, unfair and ultimately undemocratic. In "Table 7 - Vilification through the Implied Absence of Democracy", we see examples of both these rhetorical tactics:

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2014/05/08	7A	Nextera wind project in Lambton County receives energy board approval	NextEra gets Ontario Energy Board approval	 The government in lock-step with Big Wind
2015/05/27	7B	Suncor plans new wind farm in Warwick and Brooke-Alvinston	Suncor, NextEra proposing new wind farms in Lambton	People are not happy: local mayor. Democracy absent in Ontario
2016/05/03	7C	Not backing down on Nation Rise Wind Farm	Wind farm fight in Eastern Ontario: "no democracy, no truth"	If province had a 1km setback for wind power generators, almost none of the North Stormont project would be allowable, says community group. "They say wind power is 'green'" says leader Margaret Benke, "but it's not." 
2016/05/13	7D	McWilliams: Voices of Dutton Dunwich residents ignored	No autonomy for Ontario communities with Wynne government wind power push: Dutton Dunwich mayor	**Lead:** Cameron McWilliam sets the record straight on why Dutton Dunwich residents didn't deserve a wind power contract…and

				why another community should not be responsible for that happening.  **Caption:** 84% of DuttonDunwich citizens said NO to proposed wind farm. They got one anyway. Why does another Ontario community get to make that happen?
2016/05/31	7E	Rural-urban divide wedge issue in Ontario	Wynne government thumbs nose at rural communities, unlike Manitoba: Merriam	**Lead:** While Manitoba is bending over backwards to foster cooperation and benefit for both rural and urban communities, the Ontario government is doing the opposite, says PostMedia writer Jim Merriam. In fact, the Wynne government has made it very clear what it thinks of rural/small-town Ontario – you're there to supply our power and bury our garbage.

				 **Caption:** You tiny little annoying people…

Table 7-Vilification through the Implied Absence of Democracy

In 7A, WCO includes the picture of a rubber stamp with the word "approved" underneath. This insinuates that the government and wind developers are in collusion and that the government simply 'rubber stamps' wind development applications, regardless of public consultation, input or concerns. Not surprisingly, this particular visual is used frequently throughout the entire WCO blog. Collusion is further implied via the caption which reads "The government in lock step with Big Wind". As an extension of the polarization achieved through the militaristic term "lock step", the capitalization of "Big Wind" functions as an implied pejorative referent to "Big Tobacco". Seen in this way, this visual/caption constitute the government as corrupt and insinuates that it is ignoring its democratic obligations.

In 7B, WCO includes the following lead in its link: "People are not happy: local mayor. Democracy absent in Ontario". In addition to being another example of "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308), in this example, WCO takes three liberties with the original article to reinforce its characterization of the government as undemocratic. Firstly, in the original article, the mayor in question is quoted as saying "a lot of people are not very happy" about proposed industrial wind turbine developments in this community and that the community is split on this issue. Yet, by removing all indications as to the proportion of the people 'not happy', WCO implies that "[All] people are not happy". Secondly, attributing this 'implied' quote to the mayor further

polarizes municipalities and the provincial government – a polarization strategy upon which grassroots opposition organizations such as WCO frequently rhetorically rely. For example, in the original Green Energy Act legislation, the government removed the opportunity for input/decision making power from the municipal level with regards to renewable energy applications and many municipalities saw this as an undemocratic measure. Although this portion of the legislation has since been amended, it resulted in municipalities self-designating as being "Not a Willing Host" of IWT developments – a designation WCO repeatedly uses throughout its discourse. In fact, one of the static links listed on the WCO homepage is entitled "Not a Willing Host", and this phrase is commonly used in embedded third-party edited posts within the WCO blog. Thirdly, based on the proximity of the phrase "Democracy absent in Ontario" to "local mayor", there is an insinuation that this mayor believes the government is acting undemocratically, or, at the very least, that this belief exists in the article. In fact, "democracy", or an absence of, isn't mentioned in the article in any manner. Nonetheless, through "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308), WCO amplifies a portrayal of the government acting undemocratically with an obvious 'villainous' implication.

In 7C, we see another portrayal of the provincial government as acting undemocratically. This WCO authored headline reads: "Wind farm fight in Eastern Ontario: "no democracy, no truth"" which, through "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308), is a potentially more impactful 'quote' of the original statement in the article: "Lack of democracy, lack of transparency, lack of truthfulness" (Baker). In addition, this link contains the visual which reads: "Rural Ontario to IESO: NO MEANS NO!" transposed over an image of a turbine in close proximity to a home. The rhetorical appropriation of the phrase 'no means no' – a phrase coined by the Canadian Federation of students "almost twenty years ago to raise awareness and to reduce the occurrence

of sexual assault, acquaintance rape, and dating violence" (The Canadian Federation of Students) – highlights the view that industrial wind turbine developments in rural Ontario are occurring without residents' consent, further amplifying the idea that the government is acting undemocratically.

The second last example in which WCO characterizes the government as acting undemocratically is evidenced in 7D. In this example, WCO presents a headline in which it again used "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308) to selectively quote from the linked editorial written by the mayor Dutton Dunwich: "No autonomy for Ontario communities with Wynne government wind power push" – a selective quote based on the mayor's original statement that "no financial incentive will make those opposed to the turbines feel better about their loss of autonomy and concern for their community" (McWilliam). Through this headline, WCO again amplifies a perceived absence of democracy within the current provincial government. In addition, through the included visual and corresponding caption, WCO asserts that "84% of Dutton Dunwich citizens said NO to proposed wind farm" which amplifies the perspective the government is 'power pushing' industrial wind turbine development upon local communities.

Finally, in 7E, WCO vilifies Premier Kathleen Wynne by claiming in its headline that her government "thumbs [its] nose at rural communities" – an obvious act of derision. In addition, WCO selectively paraphrases editorial writer Jim Merriam to further deride Wynne. For example, WCO constructs a lead which functions as a slanted summary of the corresponding link by stating that the "Wynne government has made it very clear what it thinks of rural/small-town Ontario –you're there to supply our power and bury our garbage". Through the use of ethopopoeia (attributing imagined "speech to real persons" (Fahnestock 319)), in both the lead

and in the caption "You tiny little annoying people…", WCO characterizes Wynne as evoking an 'us versus them' binary – a binary obviously unbecoming of a democratic leader. Additionally, this caption and the corresponding unflattering visual characterizes Wynne as looking down her nose at rural residents in disdain of their IWT opposition.

Throughout these examples, I have attempted to illustrate how WCO uses its own headlines, leads, visuals and/or caption in its embedded third-party edited posts to portray the government as behaving undemocratically in relation to industrial wind turbine developments in Ontario. Through this portrayal, as it has been shown, WCO personifies the government as villainous since such behavior is contrary to the principles of a democracy. By doing so, WCO achieves polarization between industrial wind turbine opponents and supporters by advancing and amplifying the latter side of the 'heroic/villainous' binary. In the final section which explores the tactics WCO employs to create polarization within its discourse, we will examine how this organization advances and amplifies the 'heroic' component of this binary.

5.4 (iii) Polarization through the Personification of Heroism

A notable tactic which WCO employs to personify opposition as heroic is through discursive and symbolic legitimization in its embedded third-party edited posts. In employing this tactic, WCO takes two approaches. Firstly, WCO explicitly aligns its opposition to IWT with 'experts' within this controversy. Secondly, WCO portrays itself as an 'expert' within this controversy. Through both approaches, WCO rhetorically elevates its organizational credibility thus elevating the credibility of its oppositional stance. As will be demonstrated, through this tactic, WCO disrupts the inherent power hierarchy that exists between grassroots opposition and government as well as the power hierarchy between media outlets and grassroots opposition. Furthermore, through

discursive legitimization, WCO constructs a counter rhetoric to the technocratic discourse espoused by the government and other institutions which support IWT development. Finally, through this tactic, WCO personifies the 'heroism' of industrial wind turbine opponents which further polarizes the 'heroic/villain' binary thus clarifying the "characters and positions" (Schwarze 245) within this conflict.

One of the ways in which WCO explicitly aligns its oppositional stance with 'experts' is through the use of the embedded third-party links to mainstream media outlets. Since the vast majority of these links are to identifiable news agencies, such as local and/or provincial newspapers, and since such news agencies are generally considered 'objective' and thus trustworthy, WCO rhetorically benefits by positioning itself as a disseminator of news items authored by such agencies. Of course, WCO's selection of news items is likely based on the selection of news items which include arguments, claims, and/or evidence that align with its opposition since such inclusion enables WCO to maximize the rhetorical effect of its own authored headlines, leads, visual and/or captions to the corresponding items. Nonetheless, this alignment helps WCO to portray itself as an engaged, enlightened, credible, trustworthy source which is notably antithetical to how WCO portrays the provincial government and industrial wind turbine developers. One of the ways in which this tactic is employed is by frequently listing the original publication details of the embedded link. For example, below the WCO authored headline, lead, visual and/or caption, it is very common for WCO to insert the original author's name, date of publication and publication source. An example of this is indicated by the red arrow in Figure 6:

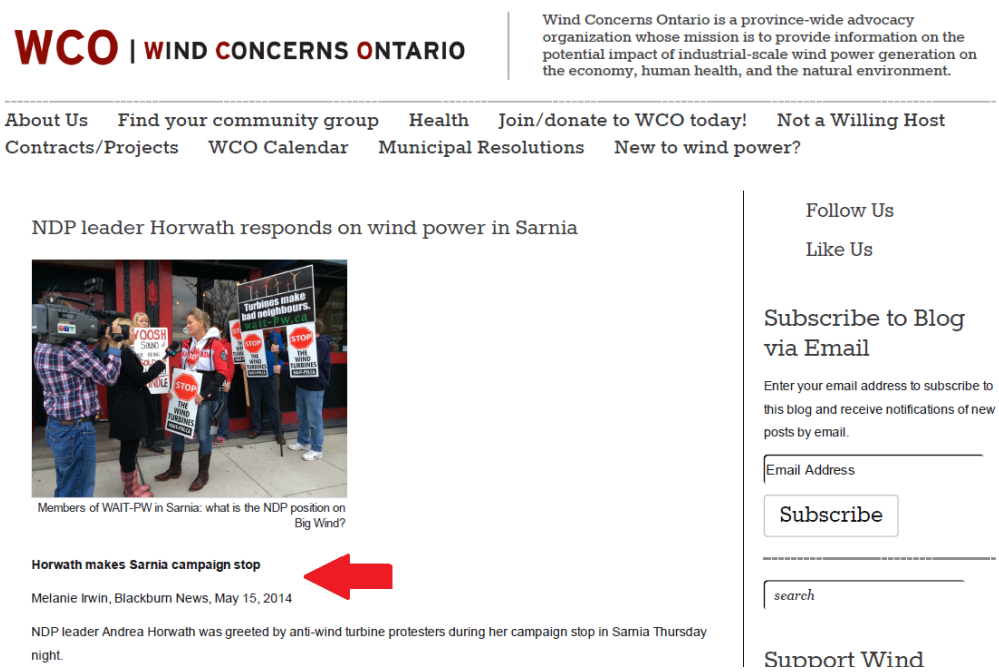

Figure 6-Insertion of Original Author's Name & Publication Source

Through this, WCO encourages its audience to perceive that the news articles WCO is providing comes from credible sources. In turn, this bolsters the credibility of the assertions WCO makes in its authored headlines, lead, visuals and/or caption as the implication is that these corresponding assertions are equally credible. An extension of this tactic, as evidenced within my corpus, is the way in which WCO often makes explicit reference to the original news source in its own authored headline, lead, and/or visual. A sample of such examples is offered in "Table 8 – Indication of Original Source":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2013/05/02	8A	Terence Corcoran: Ontario Liberals' last power trip	Financial Post Tackles Ontario's Energy Policy	
2014/05/11	8B	Native trail may halt turbine start up: Wind group calls on ombud to investigate	Historic site overlooked in wind farm approval	NIAGARA this WEEK .com

2014/05/11	8C	Rex Murphy: The Ontario Liberals' impossible dream	Rex Murphy: Ontario Liberals should be 'toast'	NOTE: this is a reprint of an opinion column in The National Post.
2014/05/12	8D	Kelly McParland: Hudak tests Ontario's fortitude by offering an honest choice	Giving points for honesty about Ontario's economy (or, just how bad are things, really?)	From today's National Post, editorial writer Kelly McParland, on Tim Hudak's gamble with honesty, and Premier Wynne's response.
2016/05/01	8E	Coming soon: Ontario's green energy fiasco, the sequel	Ontario's green energy policy disaster: you should be worried	Ontario's Minister of Natural Resources has "more enthusiasm than knowledge" says the Globe and Mail.
2016/05/16	8F	An Ill Wind: Open Season on Bald Eagles	Eagles fair game for wind power developers, says US Fish and Wildlife	WSJ+
2016/05/17	8G	Kevin Libin: Ontario's big, green assisted economic suicide plan	Ontario's economic suicide plan: The Financial Post	

Table 8-Indication of Original Source

By identifying the original source, such as the "The *Financial Post*", "*The National Post*", "*Niagara This Week*", "*The Globe and Mail*", and "*The Wall Street Journal*", either discursively or symbolically, WCO constitutes itself as an equally reliable, credible source of news and information. Not surprisingly, WCO doesn't always explicitly indicate that many of these items are opinion pieces and thus not necessarily representative of the views of the original publication. Nonetheless, many of these opinion pieces represent oppositional discourse to IWT and highlighting that such established and generally well-regarded news publications publish these opinions helps legitimize not only WCO's opposition, but its audience's as well.

The final way in which WCO aligns itself with experts is by highlighting the credentials of the author of the original piece as well as highlighting that these authors share WCO's oppositional perspective. By doing so, WCO is able to both corroborate and legitimize their opposition. We see such examples in the WCO authored headlines and/or leads evidenced in "Table 9 – Indication of Experts":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2014/05/13	9A	Philip Cross: Public sector investment never 'kickstarts' more business investment	Public sector investment doesn't=jobs in Ontario	Here, from today's Financial Post, an opinion piece by Philip Cross, former Chief Economic Analyst at Statistics Canada.
2014/05/15	9B	Killing green energy contracts	Can government end "green" contracts? YES, says Queens law prof	
2014/05/22	9C	Western University researchers calling on governments and wind farm developers to avoid feeding war of words	UWO study: life not good for turbine neighbours	
2015/05/11	9D	Systematic Review 2013: Association Between Wind Turbines and Human Distress	Proof of association between turbine noise and poor health: public health doctors	Drs Ian Arra and Hazel Lynn have now published a peer-reviewed report of their review of international papers and studies on wind turbine noise and health impacts.
2016/05/09	9E	Gridmonsters attack! Wind, solar power are inefficient, unreliable and make electricity grid more costly than it has to be	Wind turbines an invasion of Ontario's power grid, says engineer	Wind turbines are not just an eyesore in Ontario says retired engineer Jim McPherson, they are responsible for unreasonable increases in electricity

				bills, affecting quality of life and business competitiveness.

Table 9-Indication of Experts

In example 9A, we see how WCO both highlights and aligns itself with a "former Chief Economic Analyst at Statistics Canada" who believes that public sector investments don't create jobs. The significance of this is that upon announcing the Green Energy Act (GEA) in 2009, the government claimed that it will "boost investment in renewable energy projects and increase conservation, creating green jobs and economic growth in Ontario" (Ontario Ministry of Energy, "Green Energy Act"). However, as early as 2012, WCO disputed that the GEA would have such an impact on job creation (Wind Concerns Ontario "The Green Energy & Economy Act") and has echoed this belief throughout its blog. Thus, corroboration of this magnitude helps give credence to WCO's argument, and by default to its overall opposition.

In 9B, WCO highlights that a law professor concludes that renewable energy contracts can be cancelled with no financial implications. This is in relation to then leader of the Progressive Conservative Party Tim Hudak's campaign promise that if elected, he would cancel such contracts with no financial implications. Not only did Hudak make this promise to appease rural residents opposed to turbine developments, WCO has advocated on numerous occasions that simply cancelling contracts is the most 'effective' way to stop turbine developments. Thus, the fact that a law professor has reached the same conclusion helps legitimize WCO's credibility in this instance.

In 9C, 9D & 9E, WCO highlights how university researchers, public health doctors, and an engineer have concluded that IWT are causing adverse effects to nearby residents – a claim that WCO has made since its inception. Furthermore, this has been an issue of dispute between

opponents and the government over the course of this conflict. Thus, by highlighting that such experts have drawn such conclusions, WCO enacts a counter rhetoric to the government's technocratic discourse and in doing so, further legitimizes its oppositional position.

The second tactic employed by WCO to legitimize its opposition is to represent itself as an 'expert' within this controversy. In employing this tactic, WCO often constructs third-party news item posts which either directly or indirectly challenge the merits of industrial wind turbine opposition, or items which WCO believes do not give credence to its own oppositional stance. When embedding this kind of link on its blog, WCO inserts its own authored headline, lead, visual and/or caption in which contests the veracity and/or transparency of the arguments and evidence presented in the original news item. Through such countering, WCO presents itself as an expert within this controversy which lends credibility to its opposition to IWT. Examples of how this tactic is employed in my corpus are presented in "Table 10 – Indication of Expertise":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2014/05/06	10A	Ottawa West-Nepean candidates are familiar rivals	The fight to unseat the Energy Minister	This story really skims the surface: there have been several demonstrations in front of Bob Chiarelli's office related to electricity bills in recent months.
2014/05/08	10B	Reality check: Do 'feed-in' subsidies for renewable energy kill jobs?	Do subsidies for renewable energy kill jobs?	This is a loaded question from ***The Toronto Star*** because of course, they are lumping everything under the category of "renewable" energy, instead of looking at largescale wind. Our view is that the province would have

				been farther ahead to foster small scale innovation and technology … but it didn't.
2014/05/16	10C	Horwath Makes Sarnia Campaign Stop	NDP leader Horwath responds on wind power in Sarnia	 **Caption:** Members of WAITPW in Sarnia: what is the NDP position on Big Wind?
2016/05/17	10D	Study of health effects of wind turbines may duplicate other studies, board worries	Huron County health board pauses turbine noise health investigation	The claim that it might duplicate another study being done by Ontario is false: the Ontario Health Study is a general population study aimed at factors in health and chronic disease—it has nothing whatever to do with reports of health impacts from wind turbine noise. But everything to do with a Board that wants to make a political decision…

Table 10-Indication of Expertise

In 10A, we see how WCO challenges the veracity of a CBC news item which overviews the candidates running in the Ottawa West-Nepean riding in the 2014 provincial election. In the original link, it is reported that Randall Denley, the candidate for the Progressive Conservatives, is running against then Minister of Energy Bob Chiarelli. Through an indirect quotation (a

quotation in which "the exact words of a speaker are paraphrased rather than repeated verbatim" (Fahnestock 311)), the article reports that "Denley, who lost to Chiarelli by just over 1,000 votes in the 2011 election, said people he's spoken with this weekend are most concerned about their high power bills" (CBC News). Importantly, the economic implication of IWT is a cornerstone of WCO's oppositional discourse. For example, on its "About Us" page, it lists what it considers to be "Basic facts about utility-scale wind power". One of these facts is that "If wind power generation projects were forced to conduct a cost-benefit analysis to determine their contribution, including property value loss and other factors, they would not be economically viable" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us"). Specifically, WCO attributes rising electricity prices to the subsidies paid to developers through the Green Energy Act. Yet, although this article merely profiles each of the candidates, WCO embeds it in their blog and critiques it for 'skimming the surface' of the electricity price issue since, according to WCO, "there have been several demonstrations in front of Bob Chiarelli's office related to electricity bills in recent months" (Wind Concerns Ontario "The Fight"). Thus, by criticizing the veracity of this article, WCO represents itself as more knowledgeable, more in tune with what residents think about this issue than the original publication, and thus a more legitimate source of information.

In 10B, we see a similar rhetorical response to a news item related to electricity prices. For example, the linked article in *The Toronto Star* entitled "Reality check: Do 'feed-in' subsidies for renewable energy kill jobs?" (Vincent) presents contrasting arguments from two energy experts and concludes that there isn't a definitive answer to this question. Yet, as highlighted above, WCO believes that IWT produce no economic benefit. To critique both the transparency and accuracy of the conclusion presented in this article, as well as *The Toronto Star* itself – a publication generally considered to be Liberal-leaning – WCO supplies the following response in

its lead: “This is a loaded question from *The Toronto Star* because of course, they are lumping everything under the category of “renewable” energy, instead of looking at largescale wind” (Wind Concerns Ontario “Do Subsidies”). The criticism that “This is a loaded question” correlates to WCO’s assertion that *The Toronto Star* purposely posed this question to encompass all renewables and by doing so, it is subtly supporting the Liberal government’s green energy initiatives. The obvious implication here is that if this question was posed in relation to only IWT, then the conclusion would validate WCO’s opposition in relation to this issue. By critiquing this article for its lack of transparency and thus its accuracy, WCO characterizes itself as an expert and a legitimate purveyor of ‘truth’ in the face of such implied ‘spin doctored’ information.

In 10C, we see how WCO frames an article published by BlackburnNews.com entitled “Horwath Makes Sarnia Campaign Stop” (BlackburnNews.com). The original article describes how during a campaign stop in Sarnia, Ontario, Andrea Horwath, leader of the New Democratic Party in the 2014 Provincial election, encountered a group of grassroots industrial wind turbine protestors and offered the following commentary:

> The Liberals decided they were going to go with big international companies and large scale projects that ignored the real concerns of local neighbourhood communities. We think that was the wrong way to go. Having said that, I think we’ve learned from the power plants in Oakville and Mississauga that you can’t just tear up contracts and expect not to have significant financial burden put on the taxpayer. (BlackburnNews.com)

Only one sentence later, the original article concludes. Since the original article offers no follow-up discussion, analysis, opposing viewpoint, and since Horwath’s response on this issue

is opaque, WCO embeds this article and asks the question which the original media outlet wouldn't: "what is the NDP position on Big Wind?" (Wind Concerns Ontario "NDP leader Horwath"). WCO poses this question not only on behalf of WAITPW (We're Against Industrial Turbines Plympton-Wyoming), it does so on behalf of all industrial wind turbine opponents. In this way, WCO can be seen as elevating its status from a grassroots opposition group to that of an expert journalistic outlet – one that asks the question(s) other media outlets won't.

Finally, 10D provides another example of how WCO critiques the veracity of the arguments and evidence presented in an embedded article. For example, in this instance, WCO embeds an article from the *London Free Press* entitled "Study of health effects of wind turbines may duplicate other studies, board worries", an article which reports that a study into the health effects of wind turbines "has been put on hold" (Miner). This article indirectly quotes the chair of the Board of Health for the Huron County Health Unit who claims that "the board wants to check with the province to ensure the work by the health unit doesn't duplicate other efforts. No decision has been made to drop the probe" (Miner). Although the article quotes the head of Wind Concerns Ontario's outrage at the Board's decision, the article does not offer the reader with a clear interpretive slant, in either direction, as to merit of the Board's decision. Although this characteristic isn't uncommon in 'objective' journalistic news, in its lead, WCO offers the following indictment of the Board:

> The claim that it might duplicate another study being done by Ontario is false: the Ontario Health Study is a general population study aimed at factors in health and chronic disease—it has nothing whatever to do with reports of health impacts from wind turbine

> noise. But everything to do with a Board that wants to make a political decision…(Wind Concerns Ontario "Huron County")

By asserting the 'falsity' of the Board's claim and implying that this decision is based on political motives, WCO assumes a position of power by dismissing the credibility of those who do not back their oppositional concerns – in this case, the potential correlation between IWT and adverse health impacts. The analysis of this example constitutes further evidence as to how WCO incorporates third-party news items to rhetorically counter any merit given to industrial wind turbine support. Through such rhetorical countering, WCO portrays itself as having expert status within this conflict to further legitimize its oppositional stance.

Throughout this section, I have identified tactics which WCO uses to not only legitimize itself as an organization but to also legitimize its oppositional views to IWT. Through an exploration of these tactics, I illustrated how expertise figures prominently in WCO's oppositional discourse within my corpus. Such prominence, I believe, is central to WCO's overall use of melodramatic polarization because, in many ways, the IWT conflict in Ontario revolves around the rhetorical pursuit of expertise. Due to the recency of industrial-scale turbine technology and policy, the speed with which these developments occurred in Ontario, and an abundance of seemingly inconclusive research, within this conflict there appears to be more conjecture than fact on both sides of the debate. Thus, for opponents such as WCO, a key rhetorical objective is to denigrate the veracity of IWT support by portraying such supporters as having ulterior, villainous motives. In concert with this objective, WCO escalates this controversy through the use of militaristic terminology to draw figurative battle lines between private and public interests and elevate its

credibility through implied expertise that – when speaking out against such villains – helps portray itself as a heroic protector of public interest.

As noted by Schwarze (2006), "while polarization may oversimplify and harden some conflicts, in others it interacts with the other resources of melodramatic form in ways that invent new issues, identities, audiences, and grounds for judgment" (253). As evidenced with my corpus, an additional 'resource of melodramatic form' which extends such polarization and creates such "issues, identities, audience, and grounds for judgement" (253) is the way in which WCO morally frames opposition to IWT policies and developments within this conflict.

5.5 How WCO's Use of "Embedded Third-Party Edited" Posts Morally Frames Public Issues within this Conflict

As previously noted, Schwarze (2006) asserts that "the distinctively melodramatic frame typically interprets polarized, socio-political conflicts in moral terms" (250) by framing "conflict as not a mere difference of opinion, but as evidence of fundamental moral clash" (244). Notably, through such framing, melodrama "can function to reconstitute the parameters of controversy by positioning advocates and interpellating audiences in a stance opposed to the amoral and immoral actions of political adversaries" (Schwarze 251). A survey of the entire WCO blog discourse reveals a multitude of instances and a variety of corresponding tactics through which this organization moralizes this controversy. However, an analysis of my corpus of embedded third-party edited posts reveals only two particular tactics: the assertion of an absence of democracy and the portrayal of oppositional expertise. Although we have already examined how these two tactics function to create polarization within my corpus, in the following section, I will discuss how both these tactics additionally function to frame this conflict on a moral plane. In

both cases, such framing can be considered as WCO's discursive response to a perceived conflict in which "scientific, technological, and bureaucratic discourses are blocking meaningful participation in public affairs and restricting discussion to technical spheres of controversy" (250).

In terms of the first tactic – asserting an absence of democracy – it was explained how this tactic villainizes government in an attempt to create polarity through the construction of a hero/villain binary. Yet, this tactic additionally functions to call into question the morality of the democratic leaders within this conflict. Although morality, democracy and leadership are abstract and fundamentally complex concepts, I agree with Grint (2004) that "leadership, which is necessarily moral, is also necessarily tied to democracy" ("Moral Democracy" 4). Thus, an insinuation regarding the absence of democracy can be considered as an insinuation that the leaders in that a democracy are immoral. We saw examples of such insinuation evidenced in "Table 7 - Vilification through the Implied Absence of Democracy". In discussing such examples, I highlighted how WCO insinuates that the government is in collusion with wind developers through their 'rubber stamping' of IWT development applications (7A), that the government is engaged in a metaphorical 'assault' on rural Ontario which has led opponents to re-appropriate the slogan "NO MEANS NO!" (7C), and that the participatory mechanisms related to IWT developments in Ontario exclude community input and are thus undemocratic (7B; 7D; 7E). Thus, through such insinuations, WCO characterizes IWT policies and developments in Ontario as a moral injustice, one that is "tearing apart the very fabric of rural Ontario" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us").

In terms of the second tactic – the portrayal of expertise – it was discussed how this tactic functions to legitimize opposition and, in effect, as a counter rhetoric to the technocratic discourse of government support. By aligning itself with experts and by portraying itself as an expert, WCO legitimizes its oppositional stance – a legitimization that not only polarizes this conflict but also validates opposition by denigrating support. In the following section, we will investigate how WCO extends this tactic to frame IWT conflict in Ontario on a moral plane, and in doing so employs an unconventional strategy contrary to the typical appeals of melodramatic rhetoric.

As previously mentioned, in many ways, the IWT conflict in Ontario can be rhetorically typified as a pursuit for expertise. One of the key exigences of this struggle is the seemingly contradictory research regarding the negative health effects of IWT. In response to such contradiction, as early as 2009, WCO urged the Government of Ontario to "immediately put in place a moratorium on further industrial wind turbine development to stay in effect until the completion and public review of a comprehensive and scientifically robust health/noise study of the effects of wind turbines" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Briefing File"). Whether as a direct or indirect response to this request, in 2010, the Chief Medical Officer of Health of Ontario released a report which concluded that:

> While some people living near wind turbines report symptoms such as dizziness, headaches, and sleep disturbance, the scientific evidence available to date does not demonstrate a direct causal link between wind turbine noise and adverse health effects. The sound level from wind turbines at common residential setbacks is not sufficient to

> cause hearing impairment or other direct health effects, although some people may find it annoying. (Chief Medical Officer of Health).

To date, the government stands by this conclusion, and they continue to be supported by The Canadian Wind Energy Association who claims that "the balance of scientific evidence and human experience to date clearly concludes that wind turbines are not harmful to human health" (Canadian Wind Energy Association "Your Health"). However, WCO continues to contend that neither developers nor the government have ever conducted comprehensive research regarding the health effects of IWT. As an extension of this, WCO also believes that there is sufficient peer-reviewed scholarship which proves a causal connection between IWT and negative health effects, and that the government is willingly ignoring such research. Thus, one of WCO's key arguments which reverberates throughout their blog is that "there ARE health effects from utility-scale wind turbine noise emissions due to the environmental noise and vibration they produce" (Wind Concerns Ontario "About Us"). Within my corpus, such reverberation is amplified by WCO's appeal to expertise to frame this 'supposed' absence and ignorance of research as a moral critique. Most notably, WCO accomplishes this tactic through its use of embedded third-party edited posts to morally indict both government and developers for, they argue, putting the lives of residents at risk. Examples of this tactic are presented in "Table 11 – Appeal to Expertise as a Moral Critique":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2013/05/17	11A	Adverse health effects of industrial wind turbines	Adverse health effects of industrial wind turbines	"The official journal of The College of Family Physicians of Canada" published a paper by Roy D. Jeffery, MD FCFP, Carmen Krogh and Brett Horner (May 2013 vol. 59). Conclusion: "Industrial wind turbines can harm human health if sited too close to residents."
2014/05/26	11B	Conference warns health effects of wind turbines should be taken seriously	Take wind power health problems seriously, scientists told	
2014/05/22	11D	Western University researchers calling on governments and wind farm developers to avoid feeding war of words	UWO study: life not good for turbine neighbours	
2015/05/11	11E	Systematic Review 2013: Association Between Wind Turbines and Human Distress	Proof of association between turbine noise and poor health: public health doctors	Drs Ian Arra and Hazel Lynn have now published a peer-reviewed report of their review of international papers and studies on wind turbine noise and health impacts.
2015/05/25	11F	Commentary ERT Case No. 14-096 Decision: Mothers Against Wind Turbines	Children's health should be protected: Carmen Krogh on ERT dismissal of Mothers Against Wind Turbines appeal	 Carmen Krogh (L) receiving the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal from MP Cheryl Gallant

Table 11-Appeal to Expertise as a Moral Critique

In 11A, WCO provides an embedded third-party edited link to an article published in the *Canadian Family Physician*. Although WCO uses the same headline as the title of the article, in their lead, they include the following direct quotation from the conclusion of the article: "Industrial wind turbines can harm human health if sited too close to residents" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Adverse Health"). Whereas the title of this journal lends credibility to the presented conclusion, as well as the professional acronyms of the first author, WCO enacts this conclusion to 'confirm' the belief of opponents – that a negative health link to IWT 'exists' – and through such 'existence', an 'existence' which is repeated throughout my corpus, the government is morally complicit in ignoring the 'existence' of this 'truth'.

In 11E & 11F, WCO uses a slightly different discursive approach by providing a summary of the two cited articles within their edited headlines. For example, in 11E, WCO revises the title of the following peer-reviewed article "Systematic Review 2013: Association Between Wind Turbines and Human Distress" in headline form to read "Proof of association between turbine noise and poor health: public health doctors". Through the inclusion of the term "proof" as well as presenting this headline as an implied direct quote sourced from "public health doctors", WCO appears to present credible evidence which supports opposition to IWT based on health concerns. Although an analysis of the veracity of the expert research which WCO cites within my corpus is outside of the purview of my research, this use of "tendentious recovery" (a rhetorical strategy in which "the inaccuracies in direct quoting clearly serve an editorial purpose" (Fahnestock 308)) serves an obvious rhetorical purpose. For example, in the original article, the authors state that through their literature review, they identified the "presence of reasonable evidence…supporting the existence of an association between wind turbines and distress in

humans."[36] Thus, by supplanting the "presence of reasonable evidence" with "proof", WCO selectively amplifies through auxesis[37] 'evidence' of a negative health link to IWT and again implies a moral indictment of the government's willingness to ignore this link.

WCO uses this same approach in 11F by revising the title of the original document, "Commentary ERT Case No. 14-096 Decision: Mothers Against Wind Turbines," in the following headline: "Children's health should be protected: Carmen Krogh on ERT dismissal of Mothers Against Wind Turbines appeal". Once again, the attribution of this implied direct quote as a headline, as well as the corresponding visual of the author receiving a Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal,[38] gives both credence and support to the position that IWT are negatively correlated with health impacts – in this case, children in particular. Yet, this provision is accomplished through another example of "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308) as the author doesn't make this explicit claim in her report. Instead, based on a review of the existing scholarly and public health literature, the author poses the following comment regarding "whether Appellants and concerned families will be expected to wait until children-based research demonstrates that "engaging in the Renewable Energy Project in accordance with the Renewable Energy Approval "[sic] will cause serious harm to human health" ("Health Test"). If so, are there any potential legal-ethical concerns?" (Krogh "Commentary"). Nonetheless, by

[36] Arra, Ian, et al. "Systematic Review 2013: Association between wind turbines and human distress." Cureus 6.5 (2014).
[37] Fahnestock defines auxesis as "heightening through strategic word choices" (391).
[38] According to the Govern General of Canada website, "created in 2012 to mark the 60th anniversary of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's accession to the Throne as Queen of Canada, the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal was a tangible way for Canada to honour Her Majesty for her service to this country. At the same time, this commemorative medal served to honour significant contributions and achievements by Canadians. During the year of celebrations, 60 000 deserving Canadians were recognized" (https://www.gg.ca/document.aspx?id=14019&lan=eng)

framing this link as evidence that IWT put children's health at risk, WCO further moralizes this conflict by implying that the government is putting its policies ahead of children's health.

WCO's use of embedded third-party edited links to external media items also moralizes this conflict. For example, in 11B, WCO alters the following headline "Conference warns health effects of wind turbines should be taken seriously" to read "Take wind power health problems seriously, scientists told". By eliminating the subject from the original headline, WCO's headline functions as an imperative. In addition, such elimination enables WCO to emphasize the direct object in their headline, "scientists", which implies that 'scientists have not taken wind power health problems seriously'. Thus, the overall headline functions as a moral imperative which indirectly supports the moral basis of WCO's opposition to IWT in terms of concerns related to public health.

Finally, in 11D, WCO again uses "tendentious recovery" (Fahnestock 308) of a direct quote from a credible source, UWO (Western University), to morally frame IWT as a public health issue. In the original news item, Professor Jamie Baxter, one of the authors of the report, is quoted by the John Miner of the *London Free Press* as saying that "life is not good for these people." However, it is clear in the original article that 'the people' to whom Baxter refers are those "who have raised health concerns and other objections to wind turbines" (Miner "A Call") – not "turbine neighbours" in general as the WCO headline implies. Nonetheless, the rhetorical effect of this edited link undoubtedly contributes, yet again, to framing opposition to IWT on a moral plane since anything which makes "life not good" for the public and anyone who permits this – in this case, governments and developers – can be considered as not acting in the public interest.

As was previously discussed and in accordance with Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama, the framing of a conflict on a moral plane can be considered as a discursive response to a perceived conflict in which "scientific, technological, and bureaucratic discourses are blocking meaningful participation in public affairs and restricting discussion to technical spheres of controversy" (250). As it has been demonstrated in this section, WCO not only fulfills this feature of environmental melodrama, they do so by employing two drastically different tactics. In the first tactic – asserting an absence of democracy – WCO insinuates that representatives of such 'scientific, technological, and bureaucratic' are acting immorally in an attempt to denigrate the veracity of their corresponding discourses. In doing so, this tactic frames this conflict in moral terms as it "remoralize[s] situations that have been demoralized by inaccuracy" (Schwarze 250) – in this case, contradicting the claims that the government is acting democratically in the implementation of this technology.

In the second tactic – an appeal to expertise – WCO appropriates and integrates 'scientific' and 'technical' discursive tendencies of technocratic discourse within its melodramatic form. Through this strategy, WCO participates in what Fisher (2000) describes as the "politics of expertise and counterexpertise" (99), a local-level response to the "technocratic decision making" (108) process which tends to dominate environmental disputes. This type of participation isn't uncommon in grassroots environmental advocacy, nor is it without risk. As noted by Fisher (2000), enactment of this response "elevates the expertise and status of the knowledge professions to a prime political position in the discourse of risk, leaving little or no room for the layperson" (51). Thus, to incorporate the layperson – its implied audience – WCO constructs a counter rhetoric which morally indicts government and developers for not only their absence of 'comprehensive' research, but also for 'ignoring' the existing research which 'proves'

a link between IWT and negative health effects. WCO's juxtaposition of its scientific/technical counter rhetoric with a moral indictment creates salience for its audience since, as observed Fisher (2000), from a constructivist perspective, "it is more generally the deeper social and cultural factors, rather than the ''facts'' of the arguments, that play a decisive role in citizens' assessments of the competing views" (74).

Furthermore, by framing IWT and the corresponding policies as a "moral wrong", WCO can be seen as advancing a "narrative of deception and inaction [which] taps into the victim/villain motif and further reinforces a moral framing of the situation" (Schwarze 250). Yet, based on Schwarze's (2006) theory of environmental melodrama, using 'scientific' and 'technological' discourses to construct this narrative can be considered unconventional. For example, Schwarze (2006) observes that in environmental controversies, moralistic framing is typically achieved through a frequent reliance on "the testimony of personal experience and the depiction of individual persons" (246) juxtaposed with the "reassuring rhetoric of technical reason" (250) espoused by governments and corporations. Although this type of juxtaposition is certainly evident in the 'asserting an absence of democracy' tactic discussed earlier, through an appeal to expertise which morally indicts governments and developers, WCO tempers an overreliance on the type of moral appeals typical within melodrama – moral appeals which promote "emotional exacerbation…that appeal[s] to senses and empathy over the ability to reason" (Mujica & Bachmann 1801). Through such tempering, it can be argued that WCO creates a rhetorical defense to a common criticism faced by most grassroots organizations – the accusation of NIMBYism. Specifically, the integration of expertise and the appropriation of 'scientific' and 'technological' discourses enables WCO to morally critique the government based on the presentation of 'reasoned' evidence and/or the lack thereof. Through this application of

melodrama as an "integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 255-57), such 'reasoned' criticism validates this controversy as a public health problem and thus problematizes an external accusation that WCO's opposition is based solely on self-interest.

As has been demonstrated, through its application of melodramatic opposition, WCO "partakes in the rhetoric of moral confrontation" (Schwarze 251). Furthermore, by combining "polarization and moral claims" WCO frames this conflict "between the virtuous and the villainous, and encourages audiences to take sides in such confrontations in order to repair the moral order" (Schwarze 251). In discussing the final feature of melodrama, it will be demonstrated how WCO develops monopathy to further encourage its audience to identify with the virtuous – in this case, opponents to IWT – and, through doing so, generates a "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244).

5.6 How WCO's Use of "Embedded Third-Party Edited" Posts Develops Monopathy within this Conflict

According to Schwarze (2006), the culminating effects of socio-political framing, polarization, and moralization – key features of melodramatic rhetoric – enable rhetors to redraw the "line between identification and division" (248) within a controversy. This line is redrawn because "stark moral oppositions and the location of conflict between rather than within social actors encourage a unitary emotional identification with victors or victims, whether celebrating the former or sympathizing with the latter" (244). Whereas these features encourage such identification, in the analysis below, I will demonstrate how WCO achieves "unitary emotional identification" (244) through the development of monopathy.

Monopathy, as a rhetorical appeal, refers to the creation/evocation of a single unifying emotion within a group (rather than to the term's normal usage with reference to physical disease).[39] Akin to 'solidarity', monopathy enacts the emotional cohesion within a melodrama that not only promotes identification but also supplies the emotional energy within a movement. Within my corpus, we see a variety of tactics employed to achieve such provision and promotion. Specifically, WCO uses the scaling and naming tactic discussed earlier as well as divisive humour. In the following section, I will explore both of these tactics in detail and discuss how each contributes to the development of monopathy within my corpus.

5.6 (i) How WCO Uses Scaling/Naming to Develop Monopathy

As discussed earlier, throughout my corpus, WCO employs two different strategies within its scaling/naming tactic. In terms of the first strategy, if the headline in the original external link doesn't make reference to the specific geographic region to which the news item relates, WCO names that geographic region in its embedded third-party edited headline link. This strategy of 'scaling down' is evidenced in the following example where WCO embeds the following news item from *Northumberland Today* entitled "Green energy projects" (Macdonald) and edits the headline to read "Hamilton Township an 'unwilling host'" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Hamilton Township"). An additional example of this strategy can be seen in how WCO links to an article from *Bayshore Broadcasting* entitled "Wind Fight Far From Over" (Villeneuve) and embeds the news item under the following revised headline "Grey Highlands fight revs up: two appeals set" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Grey Highlands"). This strategy isn't only employed through textual representation, but visual representation as well. In fact, throughout the blog, there are numerous

[39] As defined by Dictionary.com: "1. A single uncomplicated disease. 2. A local disease affecting only one organ or part." http://www.dictionary.com/browse/monopathy

links which include photographs of local opponents – photographs which don't necessarily appear in the original item – and which identify the individuals photographed through the use of a caption. As evidenced in my corpus, such examples appear in "Table 12 – Photographic Representation of Local Opponents":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2014/05/16	12A	Horwath makes Sarnia campaign stop	NDP leader Horwath responds on wind power in Sarnia	 Members of WAIT-PW in Sarnia: what is the NDP position on Big Wind?
2015/05/22	12B	Mothers Against Wind Turbines appeal Dismissed	Environmental Tribunal "not a true test" of harm to health, environment: Mothers Against Wind Turbines	 Members of Mothers Against Wind Turbines at earlier, preliminary hearing. Linda Rogers (R): not a true test

2016/05/13	12C	McWilliams: Voices of Dutton Dunwich residents ignored	No autonomy for Ontario communities with Wynne government wind power push: Dutton Dunwich mayor	 84% of Dutton-Dunwich citizens said NO to proposed wind farm. They got one anyway. Why does another Ontario community get to make that happen?

Table 12-Photographic Representation of Local Opponents

Through this inclusive strategy of naming/identifying individual regions/local opposition groups in its embedded third-party edited posts, WCO positions itself as the central "voice of opposition" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Join and Donate") within this conflict. As an extension of this positioning, WCO not only creates salience for the named/identified regions/local opposition groups imbricated within this conflict, but such digital representation under the WCO banner constitutes credibility to these localized sources of opposition. In this case, the provision of credibility plays an important role in the development of monopathy. By naming/identifying local opponents, WCO supplies a "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244) against IWT because this tactic both gives local opponents a platform as well as celebrates the resistance of such groups. As was demonstrated earlier, WCO frequently celebrates opponents by framing their resistance through the use of militaristic, positively connoted terminology in which local opponents are portrayed amidst a "fight"[40] or "challenge"[41] with governments or IWT developers. In terms of visuals, as evidenced above, WCO often uses photographs of opposition signage. Not only does such signage clearly delineate the position of the specific opponents, the

[40] See Table 4D, 4E & 4F
[41] See Table 4B

frequent use of the imperative mood in this signage, for example "STOP", helps frame opponents as being engaged, outspoken and actively opposed to IWT. As noted by Schwarze (2006), "monopathic identification is not purely about victimage" (251) as the heroic portrayal of opponents can also achieve such identification. As has been demonstrated here and elsewhere in this analysis, WCO frequently represents IWT opponents as heroic, virtuous individuals in a manner which contributes to audience identification with not only these individuals, but WCO as well. Cumulatively, these discursive and visual tactics contribute to a positive representation of opposition throughout the discourse – a positive representation that generates monopathic unification. Whereas the naming/identifying of local opponents creates salience, constitutes credence, and celebrates opposition in support of monopathic unification, in terms of the second strategy, WCO's use of scaling up develops monopathy across the wider blog audience.

As was discussed earlier, when a particular region/local opposition group is named in the original headline, WCO frequently scales up their revised headline to create provincial relevance in their corresponding link.[42] For example, in linking to an item in the *Sarnia Observer* entitled "Sarnia-Lambton officials looking to province for help" (Morden), WCO presents the following headline in its embedded third-party edited link: "High power costs discouraging industry" (Wind Concerns Ontario "High Power Costs"). In this case, the removal of the regional label and the inclusion of "industry" – a generic term which encompasses a wide-variety of possible sub-categories – enables WCO to create salience for a wider provincial, audience. Cumulatively, by scaling up to create provincial prominence, WCO unifies the oppositional positions of individual regions/groups because it constitutes this conflict on a scale which encompasses all

[42] For additional examples, see "Table 2-Examples of Scaling Up to the Provincial Level"

opponents. By presenting localized opposition as collective response to a provincial problem, WCO not only portrays a "community understanding of the problem" (Schwarze 247), it also portrays 'communities united by opposition' which contributes to the creation of monopathic unification within this audience. Through such unification, as per the rhetorical action of melodrama, WCO promotes a "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244) – a force that has helped to sustain their opposition since the early stages of the Green Energy Act. Another significant monopathic tactic which promotes and sustains the emotive energy of opposition within this discourse is the use of "differentiation humour" (Meyer 2000). Through a discussion of how humour is integrated within this particular melodramatic discourse, my analysis will contribute new insights to an understanding of melodrama as "an integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256) since the tactic of humour has not been addressed in the existing scholarly literature on environmental melodrama.

5.6 (ii) How WCO Uses Divisive Humour to Develop Monopathy

While Schwarze (2006) observes that "melodrama is a recurrent rhetorical form in environmental controversies" (239), Meyer (2000) observes that humor is not only "pleasant", its "recurring presence in rhetoric suggests that communicators believe it is also persuasive" (310).

In "Humor as a Double-Edged Sword: Four Functions of Humor in Communication", Meyer (2000) observes that although "communicators use humor for various rhetorical purposes," the variety of ways in which humour is used can be broken down into "two basic functions: unification and division" (311). In his article, Meyer (2000) constructs an "effects-based taxonomy of humor" (316) which extends beyond the three main theories of humour scholarship: "relief, incongruity, and superiority" (312). With regards to "differentiation humor" (321),

Meyer (2000) extends the theory of "superiority humor" (314) to highlight how rhetors use this tactic to contrast "themselves with their opponents, their views with an opponent's views, their own social group with others" and that "humor is invoked to make both alliances and distinction" (321). In addition, Meyer (2000) theorizes that such "comic ridicule can also maintain identification and political unity among members of one group while stressing contradictions and differences they have with others" (322). Meyer's (2000) theory of "differentiation humor" (321) offers a valuable lens through which to examine WCO's integration of humour within its melodramatic oppositional discourse. In the following section, I will highlight the particular ways in which this tactic is employed and discuss the corresponding rhetorical implications.

Throughout its blog, and in particular my corpus of third-party posts, WCO uses divisive humour to both ridicule the targets of their opposition – government and IWT developers – as well as to foster monopathic identification to sustain the emotive energy of its movement. WCO uses a variety of rhetorical strategies to enact this divisive humour including: punning, unflattering visuals, satire, and irony. Examples of these strategies, as well as others, are presented in "Table 13 – Examples of Divisive Humour":

Date Posted	Label	Original Headline	Revised Headline	Applicable Lead/Visual/Caption
2013/05/13	13A	Health study should be complete before province moves ahead, Plympton-Wyoming mayor says	Province blows winds of change	

2014/05/08	13B	Nextera wind project in Lambton County receives energy board approval	NextEra gets Ontario Energy Board approval	 The government in lock-step with Big Wind
2014/05/09	13C	Magna says no new plants for Canada, cites Ontario energy costs: Ontario energy, pension costs a concern, the company says	'No new plants' says Magna; concerned about power rates, pension plan	 Ontario's policies blowing away jobs
2014/05/13	13D	Kelly McParland: Hudak tests Ontario's fortitude by offering an honest choice	Giving points for honesty about Ontario's economy (or, just how bad are things, really?)	
2016/05/16	13E	An Ill Wind: Open Season on Bald Eagles	Eagles fair game for wind power developer, says US Fish and Wildlife	Do the math on what the agency supposed to protect the environment and wildlife in the U.S. is proposing – it's a death sentence. But, wind is green, wind is good
2016/05/16	13F	Ontario to spend $7-billion on sweeping climate change plan	More than 12% of Ontario electricity customers can't pay their bills now, but electric car owners will get free power to charge their vehicles, in new plan	 Environment Minister Murray: new plan causing tension in Ontario Cabinet

2016/05/31	13G	Rural-urban divide wedge issue in Ontario	Wynne government thumbs nose at rural communities, unlike Manitoba: Merriam	 **Caption:** You tiny little annoying people…

Table 13-Examples of Divisive Humour

In 13A, we see the use of pun in the WCO authored headline "Province blows winds of change" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Province Blows"). As noted by Fahnestock (2011), a pun is "the double reading of a term that appears just once" whose "goal is usually humor, though the humor can have a serious point" (134). In this case, the pun is achieved through a literal, positive interpretation of this headline juxtaposed with a metaphorical, satirical interpretation. Satire figures prominently in WCO's intersection of melodrama and divisive humour – an intersection which often rhetorically indicts the government and IWT developers. Such prominence can be understood through the rhetorical function of satire since, as observed by Griffin (1994), "satire is a highly rhetorical and moral art. A work of satire is designed to attack vice or folly. To this end, it uses wit or ridicule. Like polemical rhetoric, it seeks to persuade an audience that something or someone is reprehensible or ridiculous" (1). In this example, the juxtaposition centers on the use of the verb "blows" and the direct object "winds of change. For example, an out-of-context interpretation might conclude that the 'Province's' 'blowing' – in the sense of transformation – is positive based on the positive cultural connotation of "winds of change" – a term frequently used in popular culture, especially in popular music, to connote a promising change. However, within the context of an IWT opposition blog, the intended audience would likely identify such turbine-related diction – 'blows' and 'wind' – as having a negative connotation. This interpretation is supported by the corresponding link which details that

although the Province revised its consultative policies in an attempt to give local municipalities more input into the siting of IWT, some people, such as the Mayor for Plympton-Wyoming, argue that health studies should be completed before policy revisions take place. This information enables the reader to access the sarcastic interpretation that the Province 'has blown', or 'failed' in implementing 'winds of change'. Furthermore, this sarcastic interpretation is extended through the pun 'winds of change', a phrase which hyperbolically—and ironically—connotes industrial wind turbines as a 'technology of change' to 'offset' global warming.

Not surprisingly, both the contextual applicability and discursive malleability of 'blow' enables WCO to recycle this pun throughout its discourse. For example, this pun appears again in 13C in the caption: "Ontario's policies blowing away jobs" (Wind Concerns Ontario "'No New Plants'"). In this instance, the use of 'blowing' creates a cause/effect relationship between the government's IWT policies and Magna's[43] decision to forego the creation of additional factories since 'blowing' is connotatively associated with IWTs. Although the item accessed through this embedded third-party edited link highlights the range of Magna's concerns including not only "industrial electricity rates" but the Liberal government's "proposed pension plan" and the lack of provincial investment in "auto assembly plants" (Flavelle), through "auxesis" (the use of "a term with associations that push in the direction of the assessment the rhetor wants" (Fahnestock 391)), "blowing away" connotes that IWT policies are 'murdering' investment thus amplifying a negative characterization of IWT policies. Since the failure of the government is a persistent theme throughout this discourse, WCO's particular audience is likely to not only experience a visceral humourous reaction to these puns, but also share in the intentional indignation towards

[43] Magna is a "global automotive supplier with 317 manufacturing operations and 83 product development, engineering and sales centers in 29 countries" (www.magna.com/)

to the government. Through this complex interpretative process, the audience experiences monopathic identification premised on division from the object of ridicule (i.e. pro-IWT government). Furthermore, since such identification is a result of an emotional reaction, instances of divisive humour such as this contribute to the emotive energy of opposition so crucial to grassroots organizations.

13C also provides an example WCO's use of humourous visuals as part of its overall divisive humour tactic. In this instance, the inclusion of a photograph of people using umbrellas in a wind storm constitutes humour through absurdity. The absurdity of this situation is connoted by the apparent futility of the scene – these individuals can't stand upright and at any moment, it would seem that the wind will tear their umbrellas to shreds. This visual extends the implied futility of the corresponding caption – that the government's 'wind' policies are 'killing' jobs, contrary to the government's initial prediction that the Green Energy Act would create 50 000 jobs (*The Toronto Star* "Ontario Promises). Through the juxtaposition of this visual with the corresponding caption, WCO presents the government's policies as being as futile as holding an umbrella against a storm. 13B offers another example of WCO's use of humourous visuals. In this example, WCO offers a visual parody of the government's IWT application review process by showing a rubber stamp juxtaposed with the mark of its implied die: "APPROVED" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Nextera"). As discussed earlier, the obvious satirical insinuation here, based on the idiomatic understanding of a 'rubber stamp', is that the government is simply 'rubber stamping' IWT applications and is thus "in lockstep with Big Wind" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Nextera"). In addition, the inclusion of the adjective "Big" in "Big Wind" functions as a synonymous pejorative referent to "Big Tobacco" and through the use of auxesis works to not

only sarcastically denigrate the IWT industry, but the government – with whom they are rhetorically implicated – as well.

In the examples discussed above, whether it be through the use of punning, absurdity, parody and/or sarcasm, the rhetorical objective of this humour is to both reinforce and strengthen identification between WCO and its readers through the promotion of division from both the government and developers. Such identification is reinforced through wit that integrates figurative meanings and cultural references and thus requires the audience to participate in a complex interpretative and interactive process – a process through which the audience becomes aligned with the rhetor in 'getting the joke'. Furthermore, these examples, as well as the next group of examples to be discussed, illustrate that divisive humour within this particular melodrama is often created by making a mockery of those who hold positions of power – such as government officials. Examples of this strategy are evidenced in 13F and 13G where WCO uses possibly the least flattering photos of two notable public figures: current Minister of the Environment and Climate Change Glen Murray and Premier Kathleen Wynne. In the photo of Minister Murray (Wind Concerns Ontario "Ontario to Spend"), his outstretched hands represent a defensive posture and his facial expression doesn't reflect confidence or control. Interestingly my interpretation of the utter lack of ethos represented in the photo is not an anomaly. Although WCO used this photo in 2016, the photograph was taken in 2013 while Minister Murray announced "plans to fund a two stop subway line for Scarborough during a press conference at the Scarborough Town Centre" (Alcoba). Since then, it has been used on at least 10 different occasions,[44] primarily in editorial pieces in the *National Post* which are critical of Mr. Murray's

[44] This was determined by searching for this particular image using the following website: https://www.tineye.com/search

political positions. In 13G, WCO uses an unbecoming photograph of Kathleen Wynne in which Wynne is straight-faced, tight-lipped and looks disdainful. In this photograph, Premier Wynne's facial expression contributes to the intended rhetorical effect of sarcastic ethopopoeia[45] within the corresponding caption "You tiny little annoying people" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Wynne Government Thumbs"). Although I previously discussed how this particular embedded third-party edited link functions to vilify Wynne, seen through the lens of divisive humour, a similar conclusion can be drawn. In both cases, WCO characterizes the Premier in a manner which promotes dis-identification from her and her government and through doing so, reinforces identification with WCO's oppositional views. Although my corpus only provides two examples of this strategy in use, the selection of these two photographs, amidst the potentially hundreds of others of these two public officials, is evidentiary as to how WCO uses visual mockery to disparage public officials. Furthermore, it is worth noting that this strategy occurs regularly throughout the entire WCO blog.

Additional discursive examples of divisive humour are exhibited in 13D & 13E. For example, in 13D, WCO uses a rhetorical question for humourous effect in the following headline: "Giving points for honesty about Ontario's economy (or, just how bad are things, really?)" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Giving Points"). Through the use of erotema, a rhetorical question "that requires no answer other than the audience's agreement with the proposition implied" (Fahnestock 298), and enantiosis, the use of "opposing or contrary descriptions together, typically in a somewhat paradoxical manner" ("Enantiosis"), WCO's headline satirizes the Liberal government. In the first clause of the headline, WCO summarizes the author's rhetorical

[45] Attributing imagined "speech to real persons" (Fahnestock 319)

intentions in the original article – an article in which Tim Hudak, the leader of the provincial Conservative Party in 2014, is applauded for transparency regarding his proposed budget cuts. This summary statement is juxtaposed with the second clause in the headline – a juxtaposition that is not only indicated by parenthesis, but by a transition from the indicative mood to the interrogative ("Grammar Moods"). However, the use of erotema here changes the clause from a question into a proposition, and the use of enantiosis completes the satirical transformation through the juxtaposition of 'honesty' with 'bad'. Gring-Pemble & Watson (2003) note that satire is "a primary technique for deflating egos and providing social criticism" (136). In this example, such deflation and critique are accomplished by satirizing the Liberal government whose reign in power has apparently led to a provincial economic situation so dire that newspapers are giving accolades to "honest" politicians. In the next example, we see how WCO employs irony to achieve persuasive, humourous and monopathic effects.

As noted by Fahnestock (2011), the use of irony has four potential persuasive effects. Firstly, since the successful use of irony "depends on the audience detecting the speakers intention to say the opposite, it supposes and therefore at the same time constructs agreement over what is the case". Secondly, "by saying the opposite of what is 'self-evidently true' as though it were true, and by counting on the audience to perceive the difference, the ironic statement highlights an incompatibility, an unacceptable contradiction between two views or accounts". Furthermore, when such a contradiction is employed in a "political argument, irony serves to ridicule" and "deflates the seriousness, pomposity, or power of an opponent". Thirdly, irony "serves the projection of ethos". When the application of this trope/figure is both appropriately employed and appropriately perceived by audiences, audiences perceive the rhetor as being in rhetorical command of the situation. Finally, "because irony requires a certain collusion between the rhetor

and at least one audience member, it can create social cohesion" (115-16). In the following two examples, I will illustrate how WCO uses irony in their embedded third-party edited posts to achieve these persuasive effects, highlighting the intersections of persuasion, humour and monopathic identification.

In 13E, WCO amplifies the auxesis of the original headline, "Open Season on Bald Eagles" (Bryce), with their headline "Eagles fair game for wind power developers, says US Fish and Wildlife" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Eagles Fair Game"). In addition, WCO uses a pun by juxtaposing "eagles" with "game" – a connotation which implies sport hunting of such fowl. Furthermore, the use of "fair game" serves an ironic function when juxtaposed with "US Fish and Wildlife", the agency responsible for "conserving, protecting and enhancing fish, wildlife, and plants and their habitats for the continuing benefit of the American people" (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services). Through the construction of this contradiction, WCO ridicules this government agency for its apparent contravention of its mandate and further insinuates that government is in collusion with "wind power developers" – a frequent insinuation not only in my corpus, but throughout the entire WCO blog. The use of irony is extended in WCO's caption "Do the math on what the agency supposed to protect the environment and wildlife in the U.S. is proposing – it's a death sentence. But, wind is green, wind is good" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Eagles Fair Game"). In this instance, the use of anaphora ("repeating the opening of successive clauses" (Fahnestock 230)) re-appropriates the implied enthymematic logic[46] of wind developers and governments for an ironic effect. The ironic effect, based on the contextual appearance, not only creates inter-audience agreement regarding the fallacious nature of this reasoning, but

[46] According to Fahnestock (2011), "for the purpose of rhetorical stylistics…the enthymeme can be defined as a minimum "claim plus premise" unit; the enabling major premise is usually missing" (376).

through the simplification of this re-appropriation it creates comedic ridicule of the reasoning ostensibly espoused by wind developers and governments. Ultimately, through such logical and emotional agreement between WCO and its audience, the effect of this use of irony helps create "social cohesion" (Fahnestock 116), or in melodramatic terms, what we consider to be monopathic identification.

As has been illustrated, WCO's use of divisive humour as evidenced within my corpus serves a variety of rhetorical purposes. Firstly, and in concert with the polarizing, moralizing tactics discussed earlier, through the contrast and contradiction tendencies central to this type of humour, WCO both defines the boundaries of this conflict and makes the targets of its comedic derision explicit. In doing so, the cumulative capacity of the tactics function as "part of an overall constitutive rhetoric that seeks to generate the very parameters and objects of controversy" (Schwarze 253). Secondly, the constitutive nature of divisive humour in particular creates not only ideological "distinctions" but discursive "alliances" (J. Meyer 321). For example, as it was described, this tactic requires a communal interpretation of tropes and figures, whether it be in the case of puns, satire or irony, for such humour to be enacted. Thirdly, through this communal interpretation and the enactment of humour, WCO projects an ethos of rhetorical competence – a competence crucial to its self-positioning as the 'expert', 'heroic', "voice of opposition" (Wind Concerns Ontario "Join & Donate") within this controversy. Fourthly, as has been noted, in many cases, the divisive humour espoused by WCO is not necessarily 'laugh-out-loud' humour – it is melodramatic humour in the form of "corrosive derision" (Fahnestock 115) which enacts an unflinching mockery of those who hold power. Fifthly, such humour fosters an emotional energy crucial to sustaining both WCO and the local community-based organizations within this movement. Divisive humour enacts this energy since

its telos is the creation of identification through division. Furthermore, divisive humour offsets passive victimage within this discourse and instead positions opponents as active agents willingly embroiled in a noble fight against a villain who not only needs to be defeated, but deserves to be defeated. Such oppositional identification constitutes "social cohesion" (Fahnestock 116) and "political unity" (J. Meyer 322) – key ingredients for the development of melodramatic monopathy – ingredients which contribute to "a motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 244).

Chapter 6

6. Recapping a Distinct Phenomenon

Throughout this dissertation, I have addressed the contextual complexity of this phenomenon and argued its uniqueness as an environmental controversy. To demonstrate the former, I mapped the political, economic, technical, social and environmental factors which contributed to the Ontario government's implementation of the Green Energy Act in 2009, and, in turn, led to IWT developments in rural regions across the province. These factors culminated in the rhetorical exigence of grassroots organizations' oppositional discourse against both the provincial government and developers. Furthermore, such factors underscore an apparent gap between government support for and local opposition towards IWT developments – a gap, as demonstrated, that exists elsewhere in the western world – a gap which due to its contextual complexity justifies examination in the light of impending global climate change.

In terms of the latter, I demonstrated why the policies and procedural mechanisms legislated by this Act figure prominently in the creation of approximately 50 local IWT opposition groups (Wind Concerns Ontario "Find") and nearly half of the municipalities in the province designating themselves as "Not A Willing Host" (Ontario Unwilling Hosts). Furthermore, this demonstration extends the observation of Warren et al. (2005) that IWT controversies are a "green on green" (854) phenomenon – borrowing from the military phrase "blue on blue", a phrase denoting friendly fire.

In many ways, the controversy surrounding IWT developments in Ontario can be seen as a 'green on green' dispute. As discussed earlier, on a basic level, on the one side, the government,

supported by environmental lobbyists, implemented renewable energy developments in response to growing environmental concerns surrounding coal-fired electricity generation. On the other side, local residents from rural regions of the province, also supported by environmental advocates, support renewable energy but oppose IWT developments based on multiple motivations including environmental and human-health concerns as well as perceived economic, policy, and procedural unfairness.[47] Within the scope of typical environmental controversies, this phenomenon represents an atypical paradox – a government, with corporate support, is advocating for environmental protection through intervention while local residents are advocating for environmental protection by blocking such intervention. Through this lens, one recognizes how this phenomenon is a unique environmental controversy and is thus a worthwhile source of textured analysis.

Yet, an analysis of this phenomenon is further warranted because it is very likely that 'green on green' disputes will figure prominently in future renewable energy controversies, both within and outside of the scope of IWT developments. As governments across the world consider renewable energy as an important initiative to offset global climate change, such initiatives are unlikely to be met with absolute support, and it is likely that environmental melodrama will become ubiquitous within this particular type of controversy. Therefore, my analysis of WCO's rhetorical enactment of opposition within this particular context will benefit future environmental communication scholars who seek to understand the nuances of future 'green on green' controversies. In particular, my research provides a potential framework for future analysis as it both demonstrates that environmental melodrama is a viable heuristic for exploring

[47] For further evidence of such opposition, please see: http://www.windconcernsontario.ca/the-fact-bank/

a renewable energy controversy and identifies/investigates how contemporary rhetorical tactics are used by opponents to situate opposition discourse within a digitized forum.

Furthermore, my analysis provides important insights to both governments and oppositional groups which, from my perspective, counter existing assumptions on behalf of both sides, and it is likely that similar, if not the same assumptions are central to renewable energy developments in general.

For governments in particular, my analysis illustrates that IWT opposition in Ontario is based on multiple motivations and thus counters the assumption that opposition can/should be dismissed as simply NIMBYism, a perspective supported by scholars such as Burningham et al. (2006); Warren et al. (2005); Bell et al. (2005); Burningham (2000); and Wolsink (2000) who note the rarity, inaccuracy, and pejorative implications of this term.

In fact, my research within the context of Ontario supports the theories of both Wolsink (2000) and Warren et al. (2005) that opposition to IWTs more closely reflects NIABYism (Not In Anyone's Back Yard) since such opposition revolves around both where and how IWT developments are legislated as opposed to solely physical factors. Through these observations, my research also supports Katz and Miller's (1996) assertion that rhetorical criticism can be applied to untangle the complexities of what is otherwise deemed a "NIMBY response" (133) to an environmental controversy.

For example, through rhetorical criticism, I have highlighted how WCO uses embedded third-party edited posts to promote a multi-faceted thematic oppositional discourse, as evidenced above, which functions as a counter-rhetoric to the institutional discourses which support IWTs. The existence of this counter-rhetoric illustrates that such opposition often takes aim at the

perceived injustice of the policies which govern these developments – policies which are provincial, as opposed to local, in scope. Furthermore, by highlighting the prominent rhetorical elements within WCO's oppositional discourse, my research also observes that such opposition should not be considered as deviant, but rather as a by-product of opponents' perceptions of distributive and procedural environmental injustices – injustices which are discursively formulated through environmental melodrama as counter-rhetorical response. From this perspective, I have described how the rhetorical repertoire of environmental melodrama signals a disjunction in terms of trust and fairness between supporters of and opponents to IWT developments – a disjunction that if ignored by institutions or dismissed as mere NIMBYism has the potential to exacerbate, as opposed to eliminate, conflict.

Conversely, for opponents engaged in a 'green on green' controversy, my research illustrates that the provision of a counter-rhetoric steeped in melodrama may unintentionally contribute to accusations of NIMBYism – an insight which counters an assumption that there is no rhetorical risk in employing this form. As I have observed, the implied audience of environmental melodrama is internal as this rhetorical form is directed at existing IWT opponents and potentially also neutral audiences, as opposed to an external audience. Thus, when an unintended external audience encounters this form and sees itself vilified, especially when it is advocating for something which it believes has significant environmental benefits (a central feature of a 'green on green' controversy), we must acknowledge the role this plays in prompting NIMBY accusations. Furthermore, the polarizing feature of melodramatic rhetoric may lead supporters, and potentially also neutral audiences, to dismiss opponents as being merely manipulative and opportunistic.

Therefore, opponents, even in the face of accusations of NIMBYism, should avoid using melodrama as a rhetorical response to address external audiences in a renewable energy dispute as it could, on one level, merely reify dismissal on the grounds of NIMBYism and on another level, discursively prompt supporters to also adopt counter melodramatic rhetoric to justify their accusations of manipulation and opportunism. Instead, opponents should ensure that melodramatic rhetoric is clearly directed towards internal audiences, similarly to how WCO situates use of this rhetorical form within the internal-audience directed blog feature of its website, as it is only through such direction that melodramatic rhetoric bolsters support of a cause and thus can be considered as a fitting rhetorical response. Ultimately, this is an area which I think is important for future research not only within the IWT controversy in Ontario, but for analysis of the use of environmental melodrama within the realm of other 'green on green' controversies.

Not only does the complexity of this phenomenon and its uniqueness as an environmental controversy support the rationale for a textured analysis, my justification to explore this phenomenon from a rhetorical perspective addresses apparent gaps within IWT opposition scholarship. As discussed, the majority of Western European scholarship focuses on dispelling the myth of NIMBYism and determining, through quantitative methodologies, the physical, social, and institutional factors which could be used to predict opposition. Although this scholarship supplies a valuable footing for my research, I have addressed these gaps in the following ways. Firstly, this scholarship approaches opposition to IWT as being static. As I have illustrated, my findings support scholars such as Devine-Wright (2005) who counter the assumption that opposition to IWTs decreases in relation to time (131). Not only have I highlighted the longevity of WCO – a grassroots opposition group in existence since 2009 –, I

have demonstrated how this organization has used melodramatic rhetoric most notably in the promotion of monopathy and through polarization strategies to sustain a "motive force for collective action" (Schwarze 247) over the four-year period reflected in my corpus. Furthermore, my analysis supports a conception of IWT oppositional discourse as being dynamic, as opposed to static, by identifying how the use of embedded third-party edited posts has evolved since 2013. In particular, I have observed the discursive transformation from 'collective' to 'single' embedded third-party edited posts and discussed the corresponding rhetorical implications.

Secondly, as I have observed, the Western European scholarship which examines IWT opposition demonstrates an over-reliance on quantitative methodologies which, in effect, presents oppositional factors as distinct units. Through my qualitative research, I have demonstrated the dynamic interplay of these factors and addressed how they are rhetorically enacted within this particular discourse.

Within the scholarship specific to Ontario, IWT controversy has typically been examined through a public policy lens and through media analysis. However, within this context, it was shown that an overreliance on survey data and media content has led scholars to draw overarching conclusions which don't fully address the complexity of oppositional rhetoric within this phenomenon. Nonetheless, IWT scholarship within the context Ontario does offer a comprehensive mapping of how technocratic discourses and top-down policies influenced opposition. It is my hope that by illustrating how opponents rhetorically enact their opposition, I have contributed to further mapping the parameters of this controversy.

In response to these methodological gaps in both the European and Ontario-focused scholarship, I have demonstrated sufficient scholarly support for exploring this phenomenon using rhetorical criticism in that this methodology, as opposed to the prominence of quantitative analysis within this field, offers "a more finely grained or explanatorily thicker description of the various positions and discourse held by protagonists in debates and conflicts about windfarm [sic] and wind energy" (Barry et al. 92).

Additionally, my research addresses other notable areas within the scholarship which addresses opposition to IWTs. For example, upon the directive of Devine-Wright (2005) in which researchers are encouraged to go beyond the analysis of the physical factors of IWT and consider how "social influence processes and social networks" (10) influence opposition, I have explained how WCO's embedded third-party edited blog posts function as a social network. Through such illustration, I have highlighted how WCO's melodramatic rhetoric, primarily through the constitutive effects of its polarizing discourse, in essence creates an "echo chamber" (Barberá et al. 2) in which oppositional ideologies reverberate while contrary ideologies are dismissed. Furthermore, as was discussed, the promotion of identification through division – a feature central to melodrama – enables WCO to not only constitute this controversy through a polarization of both characters and positions, it promotes "political homophily" (Colleoni et al. 317) in which "a preference for those who are politically similar" (Huber & Malhorta 270) is rhetorically enacted.

My research also extends an understanding of how local IWT opposition can be discursively harnessed to create a "social gap" (Bell et al. 465). For example, I illuminated the variety of scaling tactics employed by WCO to situate this controversy on a "social and political plane"

(Schwarze 246). Through such tactics, I observed how WCO not only fosters organizational identification and "optimizes the relevance" (Dor 705) of its embedded third-party edited blog posts, but also fosters a collective position of opposition in which local communities are united through a "melodramatic emphasis on socio-political conflict and shared victimization" (Schwarze et al. 117). Furthermore, by not only explaining why issues such as fairness and trust (Hill and Knott 2010; Krogh 2011; Shain 2011) became key issues for opponents imbricated in this controversy, I demonstrated how WCO rhetorically enacts such issues to promote victimization. As discussed, moral appeals to "justice" and "trust" (Wustenhagen et al. 2684), common appeals in IWT opposition, are central to WCO's melodramatic rhetorical repertoire. This finding extends an understanding of the role which emotion plays in IWT opposition. For example, as noted by Cass & Walker (2009), "feeling unfairly or unjustly treated…can be a strong emotional dimension to oppositional activism" and "we should therefore expect emotion to be part of oppositional activism if not at its very foundation, and we would argue that it constitutes a fundamentally legitimate part of what it means to respond, resist and oppose" (64). Through my analysis, I analyzed how the rhetorical strategies employed within WCO's melodramatic discourse foster an emotional response to this conflict – notably how polarization and moral appeals contribute to the creation of villain/hero binary in which the government is portrayed as acting undemocratically and thus immorally – a portrayal which enables WCO to present itself, as well as the other opposition organizations within its coalition, as heroic defenders of justice. Furthermore, by noting how melodrama can function as a discursive response to perceived injustice, my analysis offers a textured description which contributes to an understanding of "melodrama's ubiquity in environmental controversy" (Schwarze 239) since, as noted above, issues such as trust, fairness, and justice are central features of environmental

activism regardless of context. Thus, in an environmental controversy in which opponents perceive distrust, unfairness, and injustice, melodrama proliferates as a warranted rhetorical response. Based on this, an important take-away, once again, for stakeholders in public controversies is that the appearance of melodramatic rhetoric in a dispute potentially signals the failure of participatory mechanisms, and a refusal to redress such failure undoubtedly contributes fodder for an oppositional organization's melodramatic campaign.

As noted by Schwarze (2006) "environmental issues often get constituted within a melodramatic frame" (239). However, to my knowledge, no other scholar has applied this frame in a case-study approach to research a particular environmental controversy. To demonstrate the applicability of using environmental melodrama as a heuristic to explore my selected phenomenon, my overarching purpose in my analysis was to illustrate how WCO's oppositional discourse to IWT in Ontario constitutes melodramatic rhetoric. In particular, I have illustrated that the oppositional discourse evidenced in my corpus reflects the four features typical of melodrama through the "focus on socio-political conflict, polarization of characters and positions, moral framing of melodrama, and development of monopathy" (Schwarze 245). Through this illustration, I have provided both evidence and analysis of the particular rhetorical tactics WCO uses within my corpus to fulfill these features. By doing so, I believe that I have contributed to a "richer theory of melodrama" (Schwarze 240) since the discussion regarding the rhetorical stylistics within this particular melodrama could serve as a framework for rhetoricians interested in discursive analysis of other public controversies, environmental or otherwise, constituted within the melodramatic frame.

Additionally, by analyzing how WCO integrates the 'scientific' and 'technical' tendencies of technocratic discourse as part of its counter rhetoric, as well as the rhetorical implications of using "differentiation humour" (J. Meyer 321), my intention was to discuss the ways in which this particular melodrama is both discursively malleable and functions as an "integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256). In terms of the former tactic, I argued that the juxtaposition of moral framing with technocratic discourses enables WCO to morally critique the government for both not conducting sufficient research and for willfully ignoring 'credible' research. Through this, WCO extends the moral argument that democracy is absent within this controversy which not only fosters the virtuous/villain binary discussed earlier, it enables WCO to position this controversy as being about public safety and environmental concerns. By extension, such integration contributes to WCO's organizational ethos, coalesces opposition claims, provides merit to the claims of its constituents, and ultimately promotes WCO as the purveyor of 'truth' within this controversy.

Through these types of observations, I have noted the transformative potentials of melodrama which contribute to an understanding of melodrama's rhetorical complexity – a complexity in which, as Schwarze (2006) argues, melodrama has "the capacity to complicate and transform, not merely simplify and reify, public controversies" (253).

As mentioned earlier, scholarly criticisms of melodramatic rhetoric revolve around this indictment. For example, Osborn and Bakke (1998) argue that since "melodrama denies complexity" (222), such denial amplifies its simplicity. McWilliam (2000) argues that melodrama trivializes (67) controversies, while Anker (2005) believes that since melodramatic rhetoric codifies "right and wrong…as universal moral truths," it makes melodrama

"unaccountable to public debate" (55). Yet, these indictments are all based on the institutional application of rhetorical melodrama and thus fail to account for the potential of this form for grassroots organizations imbricated in controversies with institutions. Granted, my research offers only a limited assessment of WCO's effectiveness in employing melodramatic rhetoric – as evidenced in my discussion of how its blog effectively functions in terms of participatory journalism. However, by focusing on how WCO employs particular rhetorical tactics to fulfill the features of melodrama, I believe that my research sets the ground work for other scholars to research the complex capacity of melodramatic rhetoric and further challenge the merits of these aforementioned indictments.

Of note, I believe there are two complex capacities of melodramatic rhetoric which are relevant for future research: the use of melodrama as part of a digitized rhetorical strategy and the intersection of melodrama and divisive humour.

In terms of the former, I have noted WCO's use of embedded third-party edited posts and that the provision of their own headline, lead, and/or visual and corresponding caption is a unique rhetorical strategy within digitized environmental advocacy. Thus, I encourage rhetoricians working in the area of digital rhetoric to further consider the use of both this strategy and other unique digital rhetorical strategies within the context of environmental advocacy as well as other sources of online social controversy. By doing so, scholars can further understand the ways in which digitized rhetoric complicates traditional conceptions of rhetorical acts. Furthermore, by highlighting how this strategy works in concert with melodramatic rhetoric in which an otherwise benign hypertext is transformed into a dynamic rhetorical act mirroring the conventions of participatory journalism, it is worthwhile for scholars to investigate melodrama's

potential to fuel the proliferation of echo chambers and political homogeneity which increasingly exists in online environments. Such investigation will enable furthered textured descriptions of this relatively new phenomenon – a description that is increasingly warranted in an era in which 'fake news' has come to play a central role in public discourse.

In terms of the latter, I think that future research can produce a deeper, nuanced understanding of the complex relationship between melodrama and divisive humour. As previously noted, prior to my research, scholars have yet to investigate this relationship. However, through my research, it has become apparent that this relationship signals melodrama's sophistication as a rhetorical form – a sophistication otherwise dismissed by common conceptions of melodrama, and a sophistication that supports a conception of melodrama as "an integrated rhetorical form" (Schwarze 256). Particularly, future research should further examine how techniques such as puns, satire and irony, among other potential techniques, simultaneously amplify both internal-audience identification and external-audience division. Furthermore, an increased understanding of the ways in which divisive humour rhetorically positions audiences as active, as opposed to passive, participants, how such positioning promotes "social cohesion" (Fahnestock 116), and how comedic ridicule promotes division within a particular controversy will contribute to an understanding of the complex function of monopathy within melodrama. Finally, through this lens, scholars may attend to both the complex capacity of melodrama as well as contribute to an enhanced understanding of the rhetorical potential of humour.

In closing, not only is melodrama ubiquitous in environmental controversies (Schwarze 239), it is increasingly appearing in a wide variety of social conflicts, both off and online. This rhetorical influx raises a final important point about the future use of this form. As the use of

melodrama borders on discursive over-saturation in public controversies, its polarizing feature in particular has the potential to polarize audiences about the merits of using melodrama as a rhetorical response. For example, it is possible that supporters on one side of a particular public controversy who encounter melodramatic rhetoric espoused by opponents on the other side of this same controversy might not only dismiss such rhetoric as being opportunistic and manipulative, it might lead to a default indictment of any organization who employs melodramatic rhetoric – whether or not such an indictment has merit. Thus, the determination of using melodrama as a rhetorical response for any organization or individual should be based on conscious, calculated decisions in light of potential rhetorical over-saturation and the potential for such a default indictment. As I have demonstrated within my research, through the integration of discursive features not typically associated with this rhetorical form, WCO provides a melodramatic response which is atypical, and because of this unconventionality, it could be considered as a fitting rhetorical response in light of the factors noted above – a point which future users of melodramatic rhetoric might find valuable to reflect upon.

Finally, as illustrated throughout my research, the proliferation of melodramatic rhetoric can be attributed to a host of potential factors, factors which are relevant to further research. Therefore, studying its rhetorical characteristics and corresponding implications is increasingly important for not only rhetoricians, but for anyone engaged in a melodramatically situated conflict, as well as anyone who may consider using it as a potential rhetorical response to such factors. Thus, it is my hope that this research will contribute to a further understanding of melodrama for not only scholars but for citizens who find themselves imbricated amidst a social controversy and navigating a potential rhetorical response.

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